

California Historical Society

Quarterly

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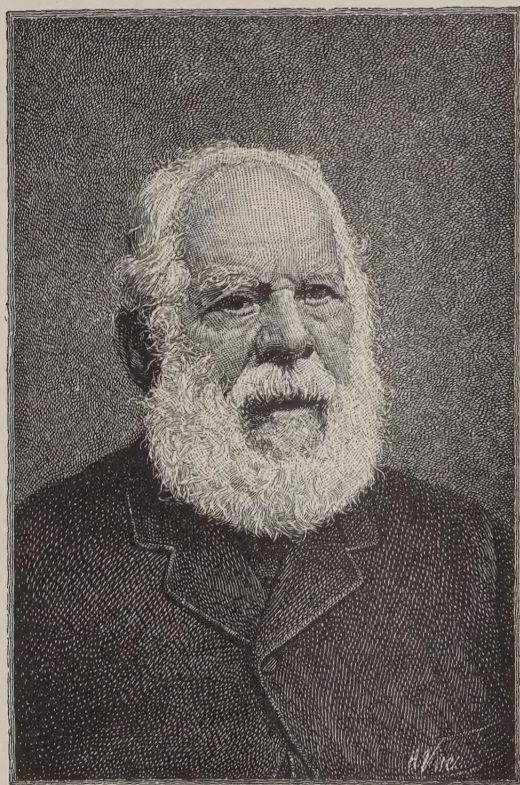
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Pio Pio
46

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PIO PICO'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT 1846-1848

INTRODUCTION

By George Tays

Don Pio Pico, the last Governor of California to be appointed by Mexico, found himself in sore straits during the spring of 1846. He and General José Castro had been quarreling for a year over the political supremacy, and the territory was now threatened with political and economic ruin.

During the early months of 1846 the Governor had made every effort to recruit an army, but in spite of all his work he was able to assemble only 150 men; and so with that motley force he set out for the north to subdue his hated rival. The impending war between the United States and Mexico also weighed heavily on the Governor's mind as he marched on to Santa Barbara. California was in danger and her war resources were small indeed. What to do?

Hardly had Pico arrived at Santa Barbara than a travelworn messenger on a jaded and foam-flecked steed staggered into town with a report from Castro stating that American filibusters had captured Sonoma and requesting the Governor to go to the rescue. Pico was dumbfounded by the news and believed that the General was trying to trick him, but reports from other sources soon confirmed the truth.

The Governor now sent his brother Andres Pico on ahead with his army,

while he stayed behind long enough to issue orders to the Territorial Legislature and all local municipal authorities in the south, to mobilize all resources in men and supplies and prepare for war. Then he continued on his way to join his troops.

When he arrived at San Luis Obispo he was met by Prefect Manuel Castro of the Monterey district bearing the even more startling news that Commodore Sloat had occupied Monterey and that all of northern California was in American hands. Once more Pico continued his northward march, to be met a few hours later, at Santa Margarita, by General Castro and his army in retreat. There the Governor and the General publicly embraced and set aside their personal quarrel for the sake of the common good.

Thoughtfully and sorrowfully the two leaders with their combined army of 250 men turned towards the capital city of Los Angeles to make their last stand. On arriving, Pico presented the matter to the legislature for action, requesting money and supplies with which to carry on the war. The deputies talked much and did little, nor had they ought with which to do anything. In vain did Pico wax eloquent in patriotic exhortations to the authorities, but with negligible results. In vain did Castro appeal to the pride of the Californians to join his ranks in defence of the fatherland. But they met with only a profound apathy on the part of the inhabitants. That was not due to any love that they had for the Americans, or any desire to see the enemy possess itself of their country; but to the realization that their poor and meager equipment and incompetent leadership would not allow them to carry on a successful campaign against a powerful foe.

Throughout July and early August, 1846, Castro and Pico labored to put Los Angeles in a state of defence. By that time Commodore Stockton and Major Frémont were storming the gates of the capital. Slowly and painfully the General and Governor realized that they could not successfully defend their territory and that it would be a useless sacrifice of men to try it. Castro had 500 volunteers, it is true, but only about 100 of them had even serviceable arms. The rest had only lances or their *riatas*, poor weapons indeed with which to face a fully equipped army. To save his face and that of his country from an ignominious surrender, Castro proposed to Stockton that they should declare an armistice until the war was over. Stockton declined, demanding a complete surrender, unless General Castro would consent to declare California independent under the protection of the United States and raise the American flag over the territory. Such a proposal was like a slap in the face to Castro. In a stinging reply he rebuked the Commodore for making such a degrading proposition which would make Castro a traitor to his country.

On August 9, Castro, realizing that the game was up, suggested to Pico that they leave California and go to Mexico to solicit aid from the Central

Government. Pico agreed, and asked the legislature for permission, which was granted that same day. On the 10th the Assembly and all local authorities were declared nonexistent so that the Americans would find no one with whom to treat. That night Castro and Pico with twenty men set out for Sonora by way of the Colorado River. A few miles out the leaders separated, Castro continuing on while Pico went to his Rancho Santa Margarita near Capistrano. The popular version has it that they separated because they quarreled. That is untrue. Pico went home because he had no money with him, and he went to get what he considered a sufficient sum to pay his expenses for a trip of several months.

While he was at home, the American pursuing parties cut him off from the Colorado River road, so for the next month he went into hiding, aided by his brother-in-law, John Forster. On the night of September 7, Pico finally managed to escape across the Lower California frontier in company with his Secretary, José Matias Moreno, and one Macedonio Gonzalez. After some six weeks of wandering over mountains and desert, on October 22 they arrived at the port of Mulegé on the east coast of Lower California opposite the mainland port of Guaymas. From there Pico reported all preceding events to the Central Government.

When Pico left California he sincerely believed that once he presented the state of affairs in the territory to the Government, it would give him the necessary men and supplies with which he might return home to drive out the Americans. It was with high hopes of a speedy return that he arrived in Mulegé, only to find all Mexican gulf ports blockaded by the American squadron. All vessels had been captured, so Pico was unable to cross. He had to wait in Mulegé for some opportunity to arise. Some days later, on November 11, Pico received a message from California reporting the glorious news that the Californians had defeated the Americans between September 23 and October 1, at El Chino, Los Angeles, San Pedro and San Diego. The Governor at once braved the stormy waters of the Gulf in a small launch and crossed to Guaymas. On November 15 he reported the good news to Mexico, begging for just a little aid which would give the Californians new courage. His hopes ran high, for surely the Government would not neglect his country now. Mexico received the news with joy and the Provisional President ordered the War Department to send the aid. Foreign Minister Lafragua wrote to Pico on December 19, 1846, that help was being sent. Pico was elated and sat down to wait for it to arrive so that with it he might march back to California in triumph. Unfortunately for him, all those matters had to be referred to General Santa Anna, who as Commander-in-Chief was fighting Taylor in northeastern Mexico. He was hard pressed at the time, so had little sympathy to waste on so distant a territory as California. He then ordered the Cabinet to help California in any other way but not to neglect his own army which was badly in need of men and sup-

plies. That put all ideas of help for California out of the mind of the Mexican Government.

Month after month now passed by, and Pico heard no more about the expected aid. Time after time he wrote to the government throughout 1847, repeating his request in urgent terms and wondering why he received no replies. In Mexico, of course, the situation had become critical; its armies were being defeated and frequent changes took place in the cabinet posts. When Pico's letters arrived they were passed about from one department to another for action. Replies were ordered made but those went no farther than the files of the Foreign Office.

Meanwhile affairs in California took a turn for the worse. Their resources having become exhausted, the Californians became discouraged, seeing that no help came from Mexico. In January, 1847, they began to quarrel among themselves, whereupon General Flores departed for Sonora in disgust and there was nothing else for the Californians to do but to surrender to the Americans.

It was a sad day for Governor Pico when he received the news. Little by little he was coming to realize that he could expect no help from Mexico, since he saw how the fortunes of war were going. Nevertheless, though discouraged, he decided on a last desperate plan. In May, 1847, he gathered up what money he had left and sent his secretary, Moreno, on to Mexico City to make a personal plea for the aid that California needed. Moreno went as far as Tepic before his funds gave out. There he was stranded, so he appealed for aid to the Central Government and also to General Anastacio Bustamante who commanded the Western Division. The Mexican Government, always adept at "passing the buck," replied with liberal promises but sent him no money, although his salary had not been paid for many months. After months of weary waiting, Moreno finally begged his way back to Sonora and reported the failure of his mission to Pico. Throughout the latter part of 1847 Pico had watched and hoped, but with each passing day his hope diminished and uncertainty took its place. His funds had long ago become exhausted. He could no longer draw on California because it was in enemy hands. His salary had not been paid for three years, so there he was in want, stranded among strangers. He asked the Governor of Sonora for help, but the official gave him a cool reception. Then, late in 1847 he appealed to Mexico for financial aid for himself; but to that bequest, as to all his others, the government replied with a contemptuous silence. By that time all of Pico's hopes had faded and turned to despair. Then when he saw Moreno return empty-handed, his emotions, pent up for all those weary months, burst out in one great explosion.

Moreno had told Pico that General Bustamante had said that he was no longer recognized as Governor of California. That was the last straw. Burning with indignation, Pico wrote a farewell letter to the Foreign Minister

on March 29, 1848, in which he bitterly berated the government in a hot denunciation. In it Pico opened his soul and let his suppressed emotions flow unchecked.

It is evident that Pico was intensely sincere in his desire to help the Californians. He had not run away from California to avoid capture, but to get aid that he had promised his countrymen. His keen disappointment was evident as he wrote: "Let California be the sacrificial goat whose blood shall atone for all the sins of the people." It was a pathetic figure that he presented as with a heavy and sorrowful heart he turned his steps homeward to face his countrymen empty-handed, to surrender to a foe he deeply hated, and burning with a lasting resentment for a government that had so cruelly betrayed his native land.

This correspondence here presented for the first time, was found in the files of the Mexican Foreign Office archives while I was doing research in 1929 under a "Native Sons of the Golden West Traveling Fellowship in Pacific Coast History." At that time it was all in one folder that had been kept in the confidential files of the Foreign Office. Lately, it seems, the whole folder has been stolen from the archives and the documents are being offered for sale by a Mexico City dealer at an exorbitant price. It is claimed that they came from the private papers of a Sonora bishop. But since the dealer has the originals which were the ones in the archives, and also the correspondence that passed between Departments, which was never sent to Pico, and could exist only in the archives, there seems to be little doubt that the documents were stolen from the archives. Such a practice goes on continually in Mexico in spite of all official efforts to stop it.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PIO PICO

I

Excellent Sir:

So that you may see fit to inform His Excellency the President of the Republic, I inclose to Your Excellency certified copies of the official communications which I received today from the Prefect of Monterey, which are marked with numbers 1 and 2 [Documents I-a and I-b, *infra*].

The uncertainty in which we find ourselves in this Department concerning the true state existing at this date in the political affairs between our Government and the Republic of the United States of the North, the excessive introduction of armed adventurers from that Nation, leaves us no doubt of the war that we shall have with the North Americans. The critical situation in which we find ourselves constrains me more and more to politely arouse His Excellency the President through Your Excellency's mediation so that he may take care of us efficaciously; providing us with the necessary resources for an honorable resistance, that may serve as a warning to the depraved plans of that piratical Nation.

The Departmental Treasury is exhausted and there is no hope whatever of pecuniary aid.

May it please Your Excellency to make the contents of this note known to His Excellency the President, to whom equally with Your Excellency I offer my obedience and esteem.

God and Liberty, Los Angeles, May 25, 1846.

Pio Pico.

His Excellency the Minister
of Foreign Relations, Interior and Police.

I-a

(No. 1)

Prefecture of the Second District.

I inclose for Your Excellency a copy of the letter which the Sub-Prefect of Yerba Buena has addressed to me dated the 6th of the present month [Doc. I-b], reporting that in the neighborhood of the establishment of the Sacramento there has been a large assembly of armed foreigners promoted by the Captain of the army of the United States of the North, Mr. J. C. Fremont. The reports of an approaching declaration of war between Mexico and said States; the ambitious aims which the government of those same has, for infamously seizing the Territory of our Fatherland; and the recent acts of said officer in entering with an armed force and daring to raise the Flag of his nation within the boundaries of this district, together with the gathering mentioned, must catch the forceful attention of Your Excellency and must persuade you that although war has not yet formally been declared between both Republics, it is undeniable that this Department finds itself invaded by a multitude of parties that threaten its desolation throughout this section.

God and Liberty. Monterey, May 11, 1846.

MANUEL CASTRO.

His Excellency the Governor
of the Department, Angeles.

I certify that the preceding copy is faithfully copied to the letter from the original which is found in the Secretary's archive in my possession.

God and Liberty, Angeles, May 25, 1846.

José Matias Moreno.
Provisional Secretary.

I-b

(No. 2)

Prefecture of the Second District—Sub-Prefect of the Second District.

On this date I have received from the Judge at Sonoma the following note.

The Neophyte Antonio, resident of the town of San José Guadalupe, has presented himself at this place under my command and has reported as follows:

That, finding himself with two companions at a ranch located north of the estuary of the Sacramento, as a servant of Mr. Frank Dye, a resident of Monterey, he and his two companions were invited by a foreigner, owner of a nearby ranch where a blacksmith named Pedro lives, and where there was a feast or entertainment given by the Captain of the United States of the North, Mr. J. C. Fremont, to the people whom the latter had assembled under arms and who numbered about two hundred men, including some of the soldiers of Governor Micheltorena's Battalion; and that he heard from these same, that that assembly of men was being made with the object of falling upon Monterey and robbing all the ranch owners.

That he also saw at the end of the feast, that said Captain Fremont departed with fifty men bound for the Columbia with the object of bringing Indians from those tribes to fill his ranks, and to put into effect the idea of taking Monterey and of robbing the wealth of the country, which was their plan.

Said Antonio has also told me, that one of his companions was killed at the time of the feast, from a pistol-shot fired by the blacksmith Pedro, already mentioned, because Pedro wanted to take away from the man who was killed a pagan woman whom the latter had; and because of the fear that said Antonio had over the conduct of those people, he fled from there, leaving his wife and other property abandoned.

And I report it to Your Excellency for the measures that you may deem convenient, having ordered that the informer be held until the arrival of Your Excellency's reply, offering you the considerations of my distinguished esteem.

God and Liberty. Yerba Buena, May 6, 1846.

FRANCISCO GUERRERO.

Sr. Prefect of the Second District
Don Manuel Castro.

It is a copy of the original which I forward.
Monterey, May 10, 1846.

Manuel Castro.

His Excellency the Governor
of the Department, Angeles.

I certify that the above copy is a faithful reproduction to the letter from its original, which is found in the Secretary's archive in my possession.

God and Liberty. Angeles, May 25, 1846.

José Matias Moreno.
Provisional Secretary.

II

Most Excellent Sir:

This Departmental Government not being able to rely on resources of any kind to enable it to prepare a defence against the external war that threatens the Mexican Republic, of which this Department is an integral part, I have

resolved to dispose of the Missions in accordance with the enactment of the Most Excellent Departmental Assembly in the year 1844, when a declaration of war was feared from the same power that today tries to invade us; because these establishments are considered as the only ones that can furnish the necessary funds for so important an object. The Government, in deciding to take this step, does so based upon the proposition that when the country is in danger no measure should be omitted in order to save it. Furthermore, I have at hand to this end the authorization from the Most Excellent ad interim President in a note of March 10 which was sent through the Ministry of War.

For that reason, on recommending to Your Excellency that you be pleased to place this before the Most Excellent President, I trust that His Excellency, mindful of the cause that motivates my decision, will find it convenient to give his approval to this and to all that may bear upon this matter.

I reiterate to Your Excellency the sincere protestations of appreciation and respect.

God and Liberty. Angeles, May 25, 1846.

Pio Pico.

Most Excellent Sir: Minister of
Foreign Relations, Interior and Police.

III

Excellent Sir:

On April 3 last, I had the honor of addressing Your Excellency through the Commissioner of the Supreme Government in this Department, Don Andres Castellero, in which [letter] I informed my Government of what had occurred up to that date with the Captain of the United States Army Mr. J. C. Fremont.

Now I have the sorrow of informing Your Excellency of the invasion and assault which part of the multitude of adventurers from the United States of the North have committed in the town of Sonoma in this Department, as Your Excellency will see by the copies of the documents 1, 2, and 3, which I attach [Docs. III-a, III-b, and III-c]. This Prefecture is well informed that this treacherous crime has been committed with the consent or by the order of the said Fremont, who is now camped at Sutter's establishment, and also with that of the Captain of the United States war frigate *Portsmouth* that lies anchored in the Port of San Francisco, for said vessel has sent to the invaders of Sonoma a launch full of ammunition. By what is said Your Excellency will know the treacherous intentions of the United States Government toward this Department.

Notwithstanding the notorious and great lack that this country suffers of every kind of supplies to carry on a war against these iniquitous and perfidious invaders, this Prefecture, in concurrence with the Commandant General of the Department who has established his General Headquarters at

Mission Santa Clara, has called to arms all citizens of the Department under its command, to the defence and integrity of our Territory; and Your Excellency may be convinced that the sons of the Department of California will make all possible efforts to defend their independence and liberty; and that they count on the protection and aids that the Supreme National Government will send them at the earliest possible moment, and that they are confident that they will not be abandoned in the great conflict in which they find themselves at present, nor will their blood be permitted to be shed in vain.

Today I depart from this port at the head of its citizenry, so that I may be joined by the citizens of the towns through which we pass, to join with the small party of troops which the Commandant General has at the indicated place.

Your Excellency will kindly place what I say here before His Excellency the President of the Republic, and receive my respects and considerations.

God and Liberty. Monterey, Alta California, June 19, 1846.

MANUEL CASTRO.

Most Excellent Minister
of Foreign Relations, Interior, and Police,
Mexico.

III-a

(No. 1)

First Justice of the Peace Court of the Town of San José Guadalupe.

I inclose to Your Worship the note which the Judge of Contra Costa has sent me, so that knowing its contents you will order what you deem convenient.

God and Liberty. Town of San José Guadalupe, June 16, 1846.

DOLORES PACHECO.

Sr. Prefect of the 2nd District,
Don Manuel Castro.

It is a copy of the original. Monterey, Alta California, June 19, 1846.

Manuel Castro.

III-b

(No. 2)

Prefecture of the 2nd District
of the Department of California.

First Court of Justice of the Peace, of Contra Costa of the Union.

I have just now heard, it being eleven o'clock at night, from the citizen Rafael Feliz who was sent as a messenger by Don Jesus Vallejo, for his brother Don Guadalupe, that yesterday Don Guadalupe and Don Salvador Vallejo, Don Victor Prudon and Mr. Jacob P. Leese were surprised in their homes by the American foreigners, and were immediately taken as prisoners to the Plumas River, the same Feliz having seen them as they passed by the ranch of Cayetano Suarez guarded by twelve foreigners, including amongst these Merritt, who was acting in the capacity of Captain, the town of Sonoma having remained occupied by the foreigners; which important news I impart

to you so that without loss of time you will, as I am doing, forward this same document to the Prefecture for its knowledge.

God and Liberty. San Leandro, June 15, 1846.

JOSÉ JOAQUIN ESTUDILLO.

Sr. Justice of the Peace, Town of San José,
Don Dolores Pacheco.

This is a copy of the original, Monterey of Alta California, June 19, 1846.

Manuel Castro.

III-c

(No. 3)

Sub-Prefecture of the Second District.

At this moment I have received the verbal message from the 2nd Justice of the Peace of the Town of Sonoma, that the American foreigners had taken as prisoners Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Don Victor Prudon, Don Salvador Vallejo and Mr. Jacob P. Leese, after having overpowered the guard, and he says that the foreigners number about seventy men, and that said 2nd Justice fled as a fugitive as soon as he saw them going to capture the 1st Justice, and that at the same time he observed that they took all the horses of Señor Vallejo; that those who took the leadership were one known as the doctor [Semple] of the Sacramento, and another whom Don Salvador knows [Merritt] due to a quarrel that he formerly had with him. All of which I communicate to you for your knowledge offering you my esteem and consideration.

God and Liberty. Yerba Buena, June 15, 1846.

JUAN GUERRERO.

Sr. Prefect of the 2nd District.
Don Manuel Castro.

It is a copy of the original. Monterey, Alta California, June 19, 1846.

Manuel Castro.

IV

Excellent Sir:

His Excellency the ad interim President, desirous of furnishing that Commandancy General with the pecuniary resources which it needs for the defence of the Department against any foreign attack, has seen fit, using the authority that has been granted to the Supreme Government, amply to authorize Your Excellency so that you may obtain those same resources for the indicated purpose.

I inform Your Excellency by Supreme order and I repeat to you the sureties of my consideration.

July 4, 1846.

P.

His Excellency the Governor
of the Department of California.

Memo:

For His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Relations.

To the Governor of the Department of California ample power so that he may obtain resources with which to aid the Commandant General.

V

Government of the Department of California.

Excellent Sir:

Numerous times I have reminded the Supreme Government, through the Ministry under Your Excellency's worthy charge, how exposed this unfortunate Department was to being a victim to the ambitions of the Cabinet in Washington, and subsequently I despatched to the Capital a commission to Your Excellency which I entrusted to the Secretary of my office, Don José Maria Covarrubias, who after discharging it arrived in this country on the 2nd of the current month and delivered to me Your Excellency's note of May 20 last, which informs me of the measures dictated by the Supreme Magistrate of the nation, for the safety of the Department. Unfortunately, Your Excellency, today we see the fulfillment of the predictions which I made to the Executive of the Nation, and all that the Commissioner disclosed to Your Excellency, concerning the imminent danger that California would lose its beloved nationality by the defenceless state in which it has been and now finds itself; Indeed on the 7th instant, Commodore (Mr.) John D. Sloat, Commander of the Naval forces of the United States in the Pacific, possessed himself of Monterey by means of landing a military force, seized the archives of the courts, customs, and Departmental Treasury; and as a climax to the misfortune, he raised the starry flag on that Mexican soil. A similar unfortunate fate has been the lot of the Port of San Francisco, and immediately said Commodore offered in his proclamation, of which I inclose Your Excellency a copy [Doc. V-a], to carry the same banner throughout all of California.

Before such a serious attack was committed on behalf of the United States there appeared at the town of Sonoma a considerable number of armed adventurers from the United States commanded by Captain Fremont, who committed the crime of imprisoning Colonel Don Mariano Vallejo, Captain Don Salvador, brother to the former, and Lieutenant-colonel Don Victor Prudon; put the second one to death, according to the news we received, having had him executed, and also took the lives of fifteen Mexican natives of this country. These events at once engaged the attention of Messrs. Don Manuel Castro, Prefect of the Second District, and the Commandant General, Don José Castro, who immediately left Monterey with what force they could muster, to the aid of those unfortunates who were in the power of those adventurers; a circumstance which contributed greatly to the defenselessness of the Port of Monterey where today wave the stars of the United States.

Hearing of such lamentable misfortunes, I set out immediately and in great

haste toward the northern regions of this Department with a force of one hundred and fifty armed and mounted men, not taking a greater number for lack of arms and ammunition, and today I have had the pleasure of embracing Don José Castro, Commandant General, at the Santa Margarita ranch, which is eighty leagues distant from the capital, who with a force of two hundred men retired from the northern district due to the numerous parties of enemy riflemen who pursued him in the vicinity of Santa Clara and San José Guadalupe. We have both agreed to defend at all cost the integrity of the national territory, our native rights, and the independence which cost the Mexican heroes so many sacrifices, hoping that the Supreme Government will not abandon us in such painful circumstances; because, no matter how great our patriotism may be, in spite of all the efforts that we may make to save the rights of our beloved fatherland, unaided and without supplies of any kind to make war on a nation which possesses great resources, it is indubitable that we shall never be able to reconquer what is lost nor avoid losing the rest of the towns.

I do not enlarge on this because my time does not permit me to write, owing to the departure at this moment of a person who has offered to place this in Your Excellency's hands, whose contents I beg you to make known to the Most Excellent President, of whom may you earnestly request not to look with indifference upon the unfortunate situation of the Californians, worthy, because of their loyalty, of the consideration of all Mexicans.

To that end I offer Your Excellency the assurances of my personal regard.
God and Liberty. San Luis Obispo, July 13, 1846.

Pio Pico.

His Excellency the Minister
of Foreign Relations, Interior, and Police.

V-a

[Commodore Sloat's proclamation of July 7, 1846, has been printed many times, so is not included here. See, for example, this *Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 352-54; *29th Cong., 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 4*, pp. 644-45, and *No. 19*, pp. 102-3.]

VI

[A letter from the Minister of Foreign Relations to the Minister of War, dated August 3, 1846, transmitting Governor Pico's letter of May 25 (Doc. I) and enclosures, in order "that on seeing them you may order such measures as you may deem convenient."]

VII

I have notified His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Republican army entrusted with the executive power, of Your Worship's letter of July 19

last in which, with reference to the documents attached, Your Worship reported the occupation of the town of Sonoma by the adventurers from the United States, which assault has been committed with the aid of Mr. J. C. Fremont; and His Excellency, knowing of such an unpleasant event, and of the measures which you took, as well as those taken by headquarters, to maintain the independence and liberty of California, attacked by the United States, he orders me to tell you that you must never doubt the good inclinations of His Excellency the General-in-Chief to sustain the rights of the Fatherland, and that from the moment in which he took charge of the Government he has had no other aim, than to order the army to march to the frontier in order to preserve the integrity of the National Territory; and that in spite of the difficulties that stand in the way of accomplishing it, he has made ready to march to the aid of that Department sufficient forces to punish the audacity of the adventurers who have entered it. That in consequence he expects from your patriotism that it will exert itself in conserving the unity of that Territory, until such time as the indicated help arrives.

August, 18, 1846.

[MANUEL CASTRO?]

Sr. Prefect of the 2nd District
of California. Monterey.

VIII

Ministry of War and Marine.
Excellent Sir:

His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the army of the Supreme Executive Power, being informed of Your Excellency's note dated August 3 last [Doc. VI], in which you inclosed the one dated May 25 last [Doc. I], addressed to you by His Excellency the Governor of California, attaching the copies which Your Excellency inclosed to me of the official notes of the Prefect of Monterey, and in which he certifies on the same date concerning the conditions which exist in that Department with respect to the war of the United States, and urges the Supreme Government to furnish the necessary resources to carry on the National cause in an honorable way, has ordered me to say to Your Excellency, as I now have the honor of saying, that His Excellency has taken some measures to protect that state.

God and Liberty. September 2, 1846.

[JUAN N.] ALMONTE.

His Excellency Minister
of Foreign Affairs.

IX

[A letter from the Minister of Foreign Relations, Interior and Police, to the Minister of the Treasury and War, dated September 3, 1846, forwarding to him Doc. II "for your knowledge and corresponding measures."]

X

From the Minister of Foreign Relations, etc., to the Minister of Justice, September 5, 1846, enclosing Doc. II "for your knowledge and corresponding effects."

XI

Minister of Foreign Relations, etc., to Governor Pico, September 9, 1846, forwarding Doc. VIII "as a result of your letter of May 25 last."

XII

Government of the
Department of California.
Most Excellent Sir:

In my notes of June 29 and July 13 last [Doc. V], I gave Your Excellency an account of the aggressions begun by the naval and land forces of the United States of America, in which official reports I have spoken extensively of all the events that have occurred, and which I suppose now must be in the exalted knowledge of the Superior Government.

The Commandant General and I, having united at the ranch of Santa Margarita, seventy leagues to the north of the Departmental Capital, we agreed to return to the City of Los Angeles, as a central and more appropriate point, where we might fortify ourselves and expedite our operations more successfully with the purpose of obstructing those of the enemy, who with rapidity was making great progress towards the Capital, on the 22nd of the same July; at the head of three hundred auxiliary troops, we instantly took all the measures which were within our means and which the department could furnish for its defence. Moreover, unfortunately all the means of defence being exhausted, and having taken stock of our small materials of war, we found ourselves too weak to oppose the powerful sea and land forces that threatened us on all sides. Mr. R. F. Stockton, the Commodore of the United States, was aided in the Pacific Ocean by six large warships, which he distributed all along the coast, occupying the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro and San Diego, at the same time that Captain J. C. Fremont, with more than two hundred riflemen approached the capital with a piece of light artillery. In such a conflict, the Commandant General located himself on the field of La Mesa, at a league's distance from the Capital, and although he counted on nearly four hundred volunteer troops, he faced the great handicap of not having arms or munitions that could last two hours of firing and give glory to the national arms which were operating in its defence. With such an idea it was decided to send a commission to Commodore Stockton at the Port of San Pedro, composed of Captain of the regular Cavalry Don José Maria Flores and the administrator of the Maritime Customs of Monterey Don Pablo de la Guerra, asking said Commodore for explanations of the violent means with which he proceeded in

occupying California, since there was no advance notice of a declaration of war between Mexico and the United States, and further proposing to him the negotiations of a treaty that would prevent the consequent horrors of a rupture. Moreover, the Chief, Stockton, being obdurate and sure of the victory which the superiority of his forces made him expect, refused, closing the doors to all attempts at conciliation, and replied by the note, a copy of which I inclose for Your Excellency as number 1 [Doc. XII-a]. At the same time that he wrote, he was also sending his troops on their way to the Departmental Capital, leaving the seaports of which I have spoken above, well reenforced.

The Commodore's aforesaid note did not allow, I repeat, for an agreement, making in it proposals that were too shameful for all those who truly call themselves Mexicans. Consequently, the Commandant General sent him the note which I also forward as number 2 [XII-b] along with the others that I likewise inclose numbered 3 and 4 [XII-c and XII-d].

The resources and means of defence being exhausted, the Most Excellent Departmental Assembly in the session of the 10th of August decided that, the country not having resources of any kind with which to make war, the Governor in company with the Commandant General should leave the Department and should go to the Capital of the Republic to report to the Supreme Government of all that had happened, for the final dispositions of the Supreme National Authorities; its proceedings I also attach marked as number 5 [XII-e].

In virtue of all this I ordered that all the subordinate authorities in the Department should cease their functions, and I issued a circular note to the Consuls of the friendly powers residing in California, as is evidenced by document number 6 [XII-f], and I gave the proclamation to the public which I likewise attach as number 7 [XII-g]. And consequently the enemy to the number of more than five hundred men effected his entry into the City of Los Angeles on August 13, raising its flag, which today waves over all of California. Their Commander, on the 17th, published the document which is marked number 8 [XII-h], which I inclose. These documents will inform Your Excellency, and through you His Excellency the President of the Republic, of all that has occurred and of the lamentable condition of that Department which at this time is dominated by Mexico's enemy.

In consequence of the Assembly's resolution and of my decision, I took my departure from the City of Los Angeles the night of the 10th and 11th of August, at which time our forces that were gathered there dispersed by order of the Commandant General, leaving the field, as likewise the whole country, at the mercy of the invaders; the Commandant General taking the road to Sonora by the Colorado River escorted by twenty men, and I having to do the same. Moreover, as it was necessary for me to tarry for some days so as to provide myself with means with which to undertake such a long journey,

I was unable to follow the aforesaid Chief, because I was delayed due to the fact that various enemy parties had cut off the road when they spread throughout all the Department in our pursuit. This circumstance obliged me to remain in hiding until some favorable opportunity presented itself for my escape, which I was unable to accomplish until the 7th of September, doing so across the frontier of Lower California, crossing the Sierra and more than three hundred miles of desert, over extremely rough roads, devoid of all human necessities, being accompanied by the ad interim Secretary of my Government, Don José Matias Moreno, who knew how to scorn the enemy's flattery to the honor of the Fatherland. I can assure Your Excellency that in all the inhabitants of that Department there burns an intense anger against its invaders, encouraged by a great enthusiasm to sacrifice themselves in its defence, awaiting some small opportunity to contribute to the reconquest of that part of the Republic, as soon as they see themselves supported by the aid of troops sent to them by the Supreme Government.

It cannot be beyond the comprehension of the Supreme Government that it is imperative to provide immediately for the recovery of California, because the enemy is increasing greatly, building fortifications and strengthening its armed forces with the multitude of parties of adventurers that daily enter that Department by the overland route, which makes me suppose with some basis, that the same thing will happen here as took place in Texas; as it is happening almost at this instant. All the Californians and other Mexicans residing there are held in the unhappy state of prisoners of war, a forced neutrality having been demanded of them.

I do not believe it superfluous to place in Your Excellency's Superior knowledge, that the enemy daily wisely invents a thousand means of seduction in order to win the Californians, with the object that they may demand their independence from Mexico, attaching themselves to the United States, undoubtedly in order to have some shield by which to defend their usurpation; which they have been unable to obtain notwithstanding that they find themselves aided by the influence enjoyed by two or three Mexicans who traitorously embraced the enemy's cause in dishonour of the Mother Country, they being Don Juan Bandini, deputy of the Most Excellent Assembly, Don Pedro C. Carrillo, receiver of the Custom-house of San Diego, and the 2nd Ensign of the Presidial Company of San Diego, Don Santiago E. Arguello, who is now in that port exercising the functions of civil official and of Military Commandant of that post, under the Government of the United States, as Your Excellency will learn by the note which I attach under the number 9 [XII-i], when this officer came to the frontier of Lower California in my pursuit and to raise the enemy flag, trampling that of Mexico on September 23 last.

Resolved on my part to continue my journey on to the Capital, I have arrived at Moleg  as the first port of Lower California with the object of

embarking for some other port on the mainland; furthermore, on arriving here I have learned with great sorrow on my part, that the enemy warships have come to occupy this peninsula, as they have done in fact, capturing all the Mexican ships to be found in these waters and intercepting the navigation of the Gulf, for which reason I see myself detained, unable to continue nor to retrace the long road that I have just traversed; for that reason I have decided to remain in the ranches of the interior of this port until I find an opportunity to embark for the other coast, or to await here Your Excellency's reply, according to the resolution of His Excellency the President, upon the course I am to follow in the present crisis.

I have the honor of paying Your Excellency my attention and appreciation.

God and Liberty. Moleg , October 27, 1846.

PIO PICO.

His Excellency the Minister
of Foreign Relations, Interior and Police.
Mexico.

XII-a

(No. 1)

United States Frigate of War *Congress*,
Bay of San Pedro, August 7, 1846.
To the Commandant General of Alta California.
General:

I have the honor of acknowledging receipt of your letter and I with you deplore the war that is now waging between Mexico and the United States. But, General, I do not want to do other than what is demanded by my duty. [I do not wish to war against California or her people—but as she is a department of Mexico, I must war against her until she ceases to be a part of the Mexican territory. This is my plain duty]*

I cannot therefore delay my operations to negotiate under any other principle than that California shall declare her independence under the protection of the United States flag, therefore if you will consent to raise the American flag over California I shall stop my forces and shall negotiate a treaty.

Your obedient and humble servant. [Signed] ROBERT F. STOCKTON.

It is a copy, Field of la Mesa, August 9, 1846.

[Signed] Jos  Castro.

His Excellency the Governor of California.

Don Pio Pico, Angeles.

It is a copy of the original that I certify. Moleg , October 27, 1846.

Jos  Matias Moreno.

Provisional Secretary.

*The part in brackets, from the Letter Book of Stockton's Correspondence in the Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society, was omitted (perhaps intentionally) from the copy sent by Governor Pico to the Minister of Foreign Relations. The version given by Bancroft (*Hist. of Calif.*, V, 269) agrees with Stockton's copy, both differing slightly, but not materially, from the above which is a retranslation from the Spanish.

Commandancy General of Alta California.

Excellent Sir:

Today I said to the Commodore of the Naval forces of the United States of America, anchored in the roadstead of San Pedro, what I literally copy.*

"With indescribable surprise I have learned of the reply which Your Excellency gave to my official note relative to my request for explanations concerning the conduct which you proposed to follow in the invasion which the naval and land forces of the United States, now under your command, have perpetrated in this Department under my command.

"The insidious content of that note and the degrading propositions which it implies, have obliged me to reproduce for you the last of my communications, because the honor of my arms demands it thus, as well as the honor of what I represent, and to make clear to you to what extent I wish to sacrifice myself in order to preserve unstained the office which I fill.

"Inasmuch as war exists between the United States and Mexico, and that you are duty bound to make war on this Department which is part of its territory, I as a Mexican and commander of the forces that are under my orders, am resolved to defend its integrity at all events and repel an aggression such as yours, which has no parallel in the civilized world; and more so if one considers that there is no definite declaration of war between the two nations.

"You say that you cannot arrest your operations in order to negotiate under any other principle, than that California shall declare its independence under the protection of the United States flag. Never shall I consent to commit the baseness of doing such a thing; but supposing that I should try it, I should fail to carry it out under the degrading conditions that you impose. And what should be its liberty with that protection which is offered to it at the cannon's mouth? I do not understand it; furthermore, you may rest assured that while I live I shall see to it that this part of the Mexican Republic in which I first saw the light shall not seal in this way its infamy and slavery.

"Yet more! Believing no doubt that not a single drop of Mexican blood flows in my veins and that I might forget the orbit of my duties, you offer me the most shameless of your propositions, which is to raise the American flag in the Department under my command. Never, Never, Never! I would say much to you in this respect, but permit me only to ask you; what would you do if the proposal were reversed? Finally Mr. Commodore, I repeat that I shall not spare any sacrifice to oppose your intentions, that if by some misfortune the flag of the United States waves in California, it shall not be by my acquiescence nor by that of the last of my compatriots, but only if due to force or by force; with the idea that I solemnly protest before the whole

*Castro's letter to Stockton of Aug. 8, 1846, is quoted in full in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 274, n. 21, q.v.

world, against the means that have been practiced or shall be practiced in the future to sever this Department from the Mexican Union, to whose flag it wishes to belong; holding Your Excellency responsible for all the ills and misfortunes that may take place in so unjust a war as the one that has been declared against this peaceful Department.

"Mr. Commodore of the Naval Forces of the United States of America in the Pacific and at anchor in the roadstead of San Pedro.

"It is a copy, Field of la Mesa, August 8, 1846."

[Signed] José Castro.

I have the honor of paying Your Excellency the homage of my personal esteem.

God and Liberty. Field of la Mesa, August 9, 1846.

[Signed] JOSÉ CASTRO.

Most Excellent Governor of the Department
of California, Don Pio Pico, Angeles.

It is a copy of the original which I certify. Moleg , October 27, 1846.

Jos  Matias Moreno.

XII-c

(No. 3)

Citizen Jos  Castro Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry of the Mexican Army and ad interim Commandant General of the Department of California, to its inhabitants.

Fellow citizens: A month and a half ago I notified you of the war that a horde of bandits, paid and led by agents of the Government of the United States of America, brought to our soil; and today I have the sorrow of reporting to you that that same Government which not long ago protested its friendship and which said it had no part in the acts at Sonoma, has joined with them and has perpetrated an iniquitous invasion.

But nay there is yet more! The American Government, not content with the unjust usurpation that it has consummated in the Department, intends to snatch our honor from us; it wants us to betray our Mother Country, to separate from her bosom, taking up our servitude under the American flag, and to fasten upon ourselves forever the shackles of our slavery.

Compatriots: Who of us does not feel his heart swell with ire at knowing that not only do our oppressors wish to make us tributary slaves, but moreover they have the affrontery to order that we should voluntarily proclaim this slavery ourselves, as a benefit which our gratuitous enemies offer us?

Fellow citizens: I am very pleased with you; a grateful fatherland will some day reward your loyalty, your valor and your sacrifices; but yet it demands, moreover, your faithfulness, your courage. The unfortunate situation in which the Department finds itself, the lack of resources to carry on the war against a powerful nation, will perhaps make it triumph over our

weak forces; but nevermore over our hearts; always conserve in them as you have done thus far the same sentiments, the same vigour to sustain the sacred rights of our liberty and independence, and be what may the fate that the war may leave us, do not belie ever the glorious name of good Mexicans. I exhort you anew, compatriots, so that ignoring all the false promises that our enemies may make to you, you shall give to the whole world an example of loyalty and courage, maintaining constant in your hearts, the love for your liberty and the eternal hatred of our invaders.

Long live the Mexican Republic! Death to the invaders!
 Angeles, Field of la Mesa, August 9, 1846.

[Signed] JOSÉ CASTRO.

It is a copy of the original which I certify.
 Moleg , October 27, 1846.

Jos  Matias Moreno.
 Provisional Secretary.

XII-d

(No. 4)

Commandancy General of Alta California.

Most Excellent Sir:

After having made on my part every sacrifice that has been in my power, to prepare the defence of the Department and to oppose the invasion that by land and sea has been made by the United States forces, today I find myself in the painful necessity of informing Your Excellency that it is impossible for me to do one or the other, because, in spite of Your Excellency's efforts to furnish me whatever has been at your disposal, I count on only one hundred poorly armed men, worse munitioned, and discontented because of the hardships which they suffer, which makes me fear with some reason, that not even these would fight if the occasion came.*

With that idea and lacking every kind of resource necessary to carry on the war, I am resolved not to expose the safety of the people, nor the honor of the arms under my care, leaving the country so as to report to the Supreme Government, therefore, I appeal to Your Excellency because I believe you are animated by like sentiments and by a true interest in the preservation of the people whom you rule.

In order to save the honor of the Department and that of the office which I occupy, as well as my responsibility before the Supreme Government, I have sent the Commodore of the Forces of the United States the reply which Your Excellency will see in the copy marked number 1 [Doc. XII-b], number 2 [Doc. XII-c] being the proclamation which I addressed to the inhabitants of the Department in consequence of the humiliating propositions which are contained in said Commodore's note which he addressed to me yesterday and that is marked number 3 [Doc. XII-a].

*Quoted thus far in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 273.

As we have not even a single moment to lose, I entreat Your Excellency to give me your answer at once as to what you expect to do so that I may be guided by it.

God and Liberty. Field of la Mesa, August 9, 1846.

[Signed] JOSÉ CASTRO.

His Excellency the Governor of the Department of California
Don Pio Pico, Angeles.

It is a copy of the original that I certify. Moleg , October 27, 1846.

Jos  Matias Moreno.
Provisional Secretary.

XII-e

(No. 5)

Session of August 10, 1846.

The proceedings of the previous day having been read, His Excellency the Governor, who presided, presented an official note from the Commandant General that the latter had addressed to him with yesterday's date from the field of la Mesa [Doc. XII-d], with the object of telling him that in spite of the sacrifices that he has made, aided by all the resources that had been within His Excellency's power to send him, it was not possible to succeed in making an honorable defence of the country and to oppose the American invasion; that essential war supplies were lacking which are of prime necessity for the purpose, and that, the force upon which he counted being so small in number, he did not wish to expose the National Arms knowing that he could not expect any victory whatever; that in consequence he was thinking of going to the capital of the Republic to report to the Supreme Authority, and to this end he invited His Excellency, being sure that the latter had similar feelings.

To the above note are attached three documents marked with their respective numbers, the first is a copy of the reply that said chief gave to the Commodore of the United States of America anchored in the roadstead at San Pedro, designed not to accept his propositions and threatening to defend at all odds the integrity of the Department as part of the Mexican Nation. The second is a proclamation that the same Commandant General addressed to the inhabitants of the Department exhorting them never to consent to make room in their hearts for the pernicious aims and falsehoods of the invaders and to conserve forever, even though they suffered, their well-known patriotism; and the third is a copy of the note sent to the Commandant General by the cited Commodore, the contents of which demanded that California should declare its independence under the protection of the United States, inviting him to consent to raise the American flag in California, and [stating] that only under such conditions will the hostilities cease in the Department.

The reading of the aforementioned documents having been concluded; His Excellency the Governor said: that although the sad plight of the country

was deplorable he might not lament its condition so much if it were not that he sees the impossibility in which it finds itself to carry on a long war against the perfidious invader; that he was sorry not to have attained the glory which he desired to get as the fruit of his earnest efforts and great sacrifices, which was to maintain their independence, of which efforts all his compatriots are witnesses; that within the range of his authority and with the ample powers which this body saw fit to confer upon him for so important an end, he has tried everything within his reach; moreover, lacking the resources that are absolutely indispensable and with small hope of receiving even a little aid, desirous of conserving the honor of the government in full as one of the principal duties, he has believed that the only means to do that is to depart in company with the Commandant General, to report to the supreme government the condition in which the Department finds itself, and that having made that decision he proposed that the Assembly should adjourn to the end that the enemies might not find in office any of the constituted authorities, and to leave the representation of the people in safety, and he concluded by offering this body his gratitude for the noble behavior that had been observed at all times by the distinguished citizens who composed it.

The Most Excellent Assembly, in view of the documents referred to and the proposal of His Excellency the Governor, which was accepted, each one of the Honorable Deputies made his patriotic speech, sorrowfully lamenting the unlucky fate that had been meted out to the country by the machinations of the ambitious usurper, but not dismayed in their sentiments nor distrustful that the day of happiness will come, succumbing for the present to the force of circumstances; it was resolved by a decided plurality, to dissolve the corporation and to protest, as it solemnly does, against the violent and unjust seizure of this part of the Mexican Territory by the naval and land forces of the United States of America, holding the perpetrators responsible for the act and its subsequent consequences, full satisfaction for which the Supreme National Government must exact in its due time; ordering likewise that this resolution shall be made known to all the peoples which they represent for their information, and so they may know that their representatives have fulfilled their duty in conserving their rights and national honor, that they had the goodness to entrust to them, as far as they have been able in the midst of imminent danger.

Having discussed the present resolution at once, because it was thus agreed upon, it was approved unanimously, whereupon the business was declared finished and the session adjourned.

[Signed] Pío Pico.

President.

Agustin Olvera, Deputy Secretary.

It is a copy of the original which I certify, Moleg , October 27, 1846.

Jos  Matias Moreno.

Provisional Secretary.

XII-f

(No. 6)

The undersigned Constitutional Governor of the Department of California has the honor of addressing the Honorable Consul Louis Gasquet for the last time, informing him that as soon as the unjust invasion that the Squadron of the United States was making in this Department came to his notice, he tried as was his duty to oppose it with all the resources at his command. In effect, for so just a cause he raised and put into action the small elements which the country possessed. Moreover, great difficulties having been encountered in trying to carry on a long war against a powerful nation, and considering the weakness of this part of the Mexican Territory, it has seemed more prudent in some way to suppress the patriotic sentiments which Mexican hearts must naturally hold and to await some more propitious time, which although dangerous, will steer the ship of this unfortunate Department into the haven of true safety.

There is no doubt that it would be a great responsibility to the Departmental Government, and very sad in the eyes of all, that men should rashly give themselves up to be victims of their enemies without hope of humbling them seeing that there was no assurance even of the smallest victory.

On the other hand I feel the act committed in California by the Government of the United States as dishonest, lacking in reasons and unparalleled in the present century. There burns in the inhabitants a profound ire and in consequence it is not their intention to betray their patriotic sentiments. Thus it is that we have tried to remove every pretext from that nation so that at no time may it be able to validate its rights over a country that has been satisfied with its lot and does not aspire to its aggrandizement in an underhanded manner.

With such a motive, the undersigned, who desires to conserve intact the sacred rights of the Mexican Nation and who is certain that there will be a sure positive change, being unable in any way to prevent the occupation of California, has decided to abandon the country, leaving his family and all that he holds dear, and to go to the Capital of the Republic to report to the Supreme Government on the condition in which he leaves the Department. For such a reason the undersigned has seen fit to notify the Honorable Consul Louis Gasquet of his final decision, making known to him that the Department remains headless in all its representation because its authorities have been dissolved, and consequently at the mercy and domination of the invaders.

The Undersigned has the honor of reiterating to the Consul Louis Gasquet the sureties of his high consideration.

God and Liberty. Angeles, August 10, 1846.

[Signed] Pio Pico.

A letter of the same tenor was forwarded to the Gentlemen, Mr. James A. Forbes, Consul of H. B. M.; Don Cesareo Lataillade, Consul of H. C. M.;

and Mr. Louis Gasquet, Consul of His Majesty the King of the French, residents of Monterey.

It is a copy of the original, which I certify. Molegé, October, 27, 1846.

José Matias Moreno.
Provisional Secretary.

XII-g

(No. 7)

The Constitutional Governor of the Department of California, to the people under his rule.

Fellow citizens: For many years now the United States of America have given an inkling of the drift of their ambitions to dismember the Mexican Territory, and to effect the spoliation of the most fertile and valuable parts of it. And with that motive they have omitted no means whatsoever to put into operation their sinister ends. Texas presents to us the details of the whole body of ills produced by its generous hospitality in sheltering the foes that some day were to tear the bosom of the Fatherland.

Compatriots: Our Department finds itself today invaded by powerful forces of the United States of America. The efforts which have been made by the Departmental Government to provide for the national defence are well known, and my compatriots will do me the justice of believing that if they have not achieved their purpose, it has been not because of omissions, but due to the unfortunate and difficult situation in which the Department finds itself, completely lacking in all resources to carry on a war.

Mexicans: The Commander of the invasion has put into practice (perhaps to wash away the crime he has committed) means of seduction, wishing by flattery and shameless promises to have us declare our independence under the starry flag; or if we do not, he will attack the Department as an integral part of Mexico. Such a declaration should justly anger our hearts whether we consider the first or the second of his proposals, because being all of us true Mexicans, never, oh never, must we commit an act of treason.

Inhabitants of California: Your Governor being placed in the hard alternative of ignominy or migration, has chosen the latter and from today he separates himself from you, taking with him the acute sorrow that he leaves you in the power of the unjust conqueror. I order you and beg you never to be taken in by flattery, cunning and false promises of the cringing enemy. Prove to the nation and the whole world, that your difficult situation, and not your consent, make you bear the oppressive chain of the usurper. Conserve ever in your bosoms the sacred fire of liberty, and without shame the glorious name of good Mexicans.

My friends: Farewell! I take leave of you, I abandon the country of my birth, my family, property and everything that a man holds most dear, all, to save the National Honor; but I leave with the sweet satisfaction that you will never favour the deceitful ideas of the crafty foe; that your loyalty and

courage shall be the impregnable wall against which the machinations of the invaders shall dash to pieces; conserve your honor at all cost, and observe that the eyes of the entire universe are fixed upon you, and that your fidelity will gain the sympathies of the nations of the earth.*

Fellow citizens: I recommend unity, order, and civility to you so as not to give the enemy the least occasion to judge you of being anti-social, and that you may not be the object of his chastisement.

Californians all: Have confidence in the high National Government; it has sworn to perish or to save the Republic of all domination, and there is no doubt that this will be accomplished. Be persevering, and be not dismayed even in the face of torture. Let *Mexico* be your motto. The Supreme Being that guards over the future destiny of nations, will provide us the glorious day in which we shall again see our dear Fatherland free and happy. That will be for me, beloved Compatriots, the fulfillment of all my happiness and the only thing to which my heart aspires; in the midst of the bitter sorrow that it feels in telling you Good bye!

Your fellow citizen and friend. Angeles, August 10, 1846.

PIO PICO.

XII-h†

(No. 8)

To the inhabitants of California.

As I neared this post with the forces which I command, Don José Castro, Commandant General of California, buried his artillery, abandoned his fortified camp of la Mesa, and fled, it is believed, toward Mexico. With the sailors, soldiers, and marines and the California Battalion of mounted riflemen, we entered the city of Los Angeles, Capital of California, on August 13 and raised the flag of North America.

The flag of the United States waves over all the territory of California; it now belongs to the United States and as soon as circumstances permit, it shall be governed by its corresponding authorities and laws consistent with the rest of the territories of the United States, and shall be likewise protected and governed.

But until the Governor, Secretary and the Council are appointed and the various civil departments of the Government are formed, it shall be ruled by military law and the Commander-in-Chief shall be the Governor and protector of the territory.

In the meantime I ask the inhabitants for the present to assemble in their respective Districts so as to proceed to the free election of their civil authorities according to their former customs, to replace the present authorities who do not wish to continue to occupy the offices.

*This paragraph is quoted in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 275.

†For the original version of this proclamation, see *29th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Ex. Doc. No. 4*, pp. 669-70, of which the above is a retranslation from the Spanish.

In case the people do not proceed to hold their elections the Commander-in-Chief and Governor shall appoint those whom he may consider suitable.

All persons of whatever religion and whatever nation who freely adhere to the new Government, shall be considered as citizens of the territory, and as such shall be zealously and completely protected in their liberty of conscience, persons and property.

No one shall be allowed to remain in the territory who does not agree to obey the present Government. All officers who wish to remain must take an oath not to take up arms against it, nor to do or say anything that will disturb the peace.

No person whatever, no matter from where he may come, shall be permitted to establish himself in the territory without previously pledging obedience to all the laws that may emanate from the corresponding Authorities.

All persons found outside their homes with arms without a permit shall be considered as enemies and shall be expelled.

Every thief shall be placed on public works and shall be held there until he has reimbursed the value of the amount stolen. The California Battalion of mounted riflemen shall be maintained in the service of the Territory, and constantly employed to prevent and punish any aggression of the Indians or other persons against the individual property or Public peace, and California shall henceforth be governed and defended in such a way as to give security to its inhabitants, and repel the power of Mexico. All persons are required to remain in their homes from ten o'clock at night until sunrise, while the territory is under martial law.

City of Los Angeles, August 17, 1846.

[Signed] R. F. STOCKTON.

Commander-in-Chief and Governor of the Territory of California.

It is a copy of the original which I certify. Molegé, October 27, 1846.

José Matias Moreno.

Provisional Secretary.

XII-i

(No. 9)

Military Command on Campaign in the service of the United States.

At this moment there has arrived here a party of troops. I expect that without fail tomorrow, the twenty-fourth, you will be here. I also order you to send a circular to all the residents in those parts, that is to say as far as Rosario, so that they may present themselves at this place without fail on the twenty-sixth day of this month.

God and Liberty, General Headquarters

at San Vicente, September 23, 1846.

[Signed] SANTIAGO E. ARGUELLO.

1st Justice of the Peace,

Don José Ygnacio Arce, Santelmo.

It is a copy of the original which I certify. Molegé, October 27, 1846.

José Matias Moreno.

Provisional Secretary.

XIII

Most Excellent Sir:

The State of California which, due to the disagreeable events that took place between July 7 and August 13 last, as I have already notified Your Excellency in a note of October 27 just passed, had succumbed to the power of the United States of America, has lately given a proof of her spirit, defending nobly the just rights that belong only to Mexico. Thus California, finding herself unarmed and with very small stores of war, has arisen en masse and, overcoming vast difficulties, has succeeded in dislodging from the City of Los Angeles and the ports of San Pedro and San Diego, the forces of the United States of America which occupied them, fighting gallantly on the 26th and 27th of September at the ranch of "El Chino" in the vicinity of Los Angeles, and in the latter place on the 28th and 29th of the same month, where they won a complete victory, causing the enemy many casualties in dead, wounded, missing and prisoners, besides forcing the remainder to capitulate, and embarking them at the Port of San Pedro. This important news, that arrived by special overland messenger from California at the port of Moleg  on the 11th instant (where I found myself), has made me hasten to place it in your Excellency's knowledge so that you may see fit to inform His Excellency, the General-in-Chief of the Liberating Republican Army in charge of the Supreme Executive Power of the Federation, to the end that His Excellency may understand that the Californians are truly Mexicans without any other desires than to be faithful defenders of the rights of their Fatherland, to which alone they wish to belong forever.

The document marked Number 1, which I attach, will inform Your Excellency of the Capitulation entered into by both belligerents, and the one marked Number 2 is the note sent to the authorities of the frontier of Lower California by the officer who has assumed command at San Diego since the reconquest of that port.

The victory, which the national arms have achieved so gloriously by the heroic effort with which the Californians, my countrymen, have punished the audacity of the infamous North Americans, is worthy of praise and of the immediate consideration of the Supreme Government. The straightened circumstances in which that State finds itself, due to the large number of enemies that prey upon it, necessitates the speediest and most efficacious protection from the Supreme Government, such as aiding those inhabitants with troops and arms which they need so much, in order to reenforce the Californian spirit and to cover the Northern frontier so as to dam up the numerous immigrant parties of adventurers of that [American] nation that in the guise of hunters enter the territory, being nothing less than soldiers of the United States.

The glory attained by the Californians is due mainly to the patriotism, zeal and energy of Se ores Don Jos  Maria Flores, Captain of regular cavalry,

Don José Maria Segura, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Don Leonardo Cota, Lieutenant of the defenders of the National Independence, who, facing all kinds of dangers and with very small amounts of war material, sprang into the arena, leading the brave Californians and defying the power of the United States which already believed itself absolute master of that fertile territory. To the consideration of the Supreme Government I recommend those citizens, because they are worthy of it.

The State of California finds itself unarmed for the most part, without ammunition or other articles of war so indispensable in sustaining a long conflict and in such a vast territory as it is; so that, although the country may pretend to shake off the ominous yoke of the usurper, perhaps it may not be possible for it to prolong its resistance without having to succumb to the colossal power of the enemy which is quite strong along those coasts, and much more so along the Northern frontier—a sure key for the United States; especially when within the same country may be established about four hundred North Americans, who are precisely that many more enemies who cooperate at the behest of the Washington Cabinet. All these well-grounded fears, about which we should be forewarned, stimulate me to entreat from the Supreme Government the most prompt aid of men, arms and munitions, that, no matter how small in amount they may be, will be sufficient to reenforce the public spirit of those inhabitants who want no other country than Mexico; and with this aid the security of California, whose territory it is so important for Mexico to conserve, would be obtained beyond a doubt.

Yesterday, which was the day of my arrival at this port, I informed His Excellency, the Governor and Commandant General of this State, of the latest news from California, and I have requested from him two hundred men, which I believe necessary for the time being. I do not know for certain as to the resources upon which this Chief can count, but I flatter myself that he may grant me his aid, and also that Your Excellency may issue the superior orders which His Excellency, the General, intrusted with the supreme executive power, may choose to give.

I shall not move from this port until I receive from Your Excellency the satisfactory reply to this note, and to that of October 27 which I sent from Molegé [XII], referring to the events in California during the months of July, August, September and October.

I beg Your Excellency kindly to place before the Supreme Government the aforesaid, and accept the protestations of my regard and high consideration.

God and Liberty, Guaymas, November 15, 1846.

Pio Pico.

His Excellency the Minister
of Interior and Foreign Relations.
Mexico.

XIV

Government of the
State of California.

Most Excellent Sir:

Lieutenant Colonel Don José Maria Segura arrived on the 28th of last October at the town of Guadalupe in the presidio of Altar, coming from Alta California commissioned by the citizenry of that State to the Supreme Government with the only and important object of soliciting some prompt aid of armed forces which can protect the national integrity, [at present] highly crumpled and compromised in that part of the Mexican Territory by the invading forces of North America.

In my note of yesterday I gave Your Excellency an account of the glorious victory gained in California by that motley citizenry who, without any other elements than their patriotism and blind love for the Mexican Nation, have opposed their feeble forces against the colossal power of the United States, exposing their naked breasts against the destructive lead of the audacious and vile North Americans. The Divine Providence that supports the just cause made those poor inhabitants cover themselves with glory in two days of fierce fighting, making the enemy bite the dust, and giving them an example that if a people wishes to be free it can be, even though it is opposed by the whole world.

A grateful country, and all the nations of the world will cast, I doubt not, a tender glance upon the Californians. Carrying victoriously the tri-colored flag given to us by the God of the Free, with what enthusiasm would they run in haste to the field of battle? And can it be possible, Excellent Sir, that the heroic Californians will not be aided by some prompt resources of men, arms and munitions? With what words, with what characters, with what phrases, might I, in the end, paint for Your Excellency, the urgency, the value and necessity there is in attending to California even though it may be with only a little aid. Arms and ammunition, Excellent Sir, and two hundred men will assure the liberty of California. Those people, I repeat, want arms, powder, and lead, and California shall be free, or will lose its people; there the infamous Yankee shall not rule them except over the cold bones of his victim.

Permit me, Your Excellency, to point out that the State of Sonora is the one that can attend promptly to California; a few days of travel by way of the Colorado River is all that it takes, to which effect Your Excellency can issue your superior orders to whom they may concern, in order to obtain the desired results.

By the inclosed printed document Your Excellency will know of the bad faith with which the vile North Americans have violated the laws of war in use among civilized nations, breaking their faith in the agreements made on September 29, and of the great uncertainty in which those inhabitants find themselves because of it. The National Honor and all humanity will be

resentful if California is not aided with the forces which it requests and which it so badly needs.

Your Excellency please give a report of all this to His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Republican Liberating Army intrusted with the Supreme Executive Power of the Federation, for his superior determinations, and accept at the same time new protests of submission and regard.

God and Liberty. Guaymas, November 16, 1846.

P10 P1CO.

Most Excellent Sir, Minister
of Interior and Foreign Relations.
Mexico.

XV

Excellent Sir:

This Ministry has received Your Excellency's communications and attached documents that you saw fit to send me from Guaymas dated the 15th and 16th of last month [XIII and XIV], in which you report what occurred in California on the 26th, 27th, and 29th days of last September, on which our brothers in that part of the Republic fought heroically to the point of expelling our infamous and perfidious enemies, the North Americans, from the city of Los Angeles and ports of San Pedro and San Diego, and the arrival at the town of Guadalupe of Lieutenant-Colonel Don José Maria Segura proceeding from California, who comes as a commissioner of the citizens of that State to solicit some immediate aid of armed forces from the Supreme Government that will protect it [California] from the invasion which has been made by the forces of the United States; Your Excellency requesting at the same time the resources that His Excellency the General entrusted with the supreme power may judge opportune for such ends, to whom I have reported on said communications. And he has seen with great appreciation the noble and heroic conduct of the Californians who have given a glorious day to their fatherland, showing their enemies that they are truly Mexicans, lovers of their liberty and independence and undeserving of a foreign yoke, be what flag it may under which it is tendered; and with respect to the aids which Your Excellency indicates in your cited notes, on this date they are being forwarded to His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Liberating Republican Army, recommending to him that he issue immediately his orders to that end.

December 19, 1846.

His Excellency the Governor
of the State of Californias.
Guaymas.

LAFRAGUA.

XVI

His Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic, being informed of the spirit that animates the inhabitants of that Territory to conserve the National unity, and of their decision to show the invaders of what the patriotism and

valor of the Mexicans is capable when an attempt is made to enslave them under a foreign domination, has decided that one of his first acts on taking control of the Supreme Government will be to make known to all that territory the appreciation and just esteem with which their noble effort has been received, and the valor with which they have maintained the honor of the Republic.

So that they may be made more efficacious and to the end that the enemy may not manage to gain any advantage, His Excellency the Vice-President will charge himself with furnishing the Californians all kinds of aid, and especially the necessary armaments, munitions and troops, sending at once by Señor Limantour the necessary war supplies that he has been able to gather.

His Excellency therefore relies upon the fact that the enthusiasm and public spirit will not die down for any eventual cause; and so that Your Worship will make it known to those inhabitants, he has ordered me to say this, as I do. So please acknowledge the corresponding receipt.

December 26, 1845.

[MANUEL DE LA] PEÑA Y PEÑA.

Sr. Prefect or Alcade of the City of Los Angeles;
To the Political or Military Authorities of Alta California,
Defenders of the Supreme Mexican Government.

XVII

EJERCITO LIBERTADOR
REPUBLICANO.

General en Gefe
Secretaria de Campaña.

Excellent Sir:

By the note that was addressed to me on the 19th of this month by Your Excellency's predecessor I am informed of the commendable events which have occurred in California, whose inhabitants have begun to punish our unjust invaders and for which I congratulate myself along with the whole nation.

In regard to the wishes manifested by said gentleman, that I may send those distant States the necessary aids, Your Excellency will understand that, being at such a great distance and this army being in need of its most indispensable resources, it is impossible to attend to them, and Your Excellency will be pleased to make this known to His Excellency the Vice-President entrusted with the Executive Power, so that he may see fit to dictate other measures with the object that those States may be properly attended to, but in no way must that interfere with the ministrations to this army under my direct command, or with the aids which it needs so badly.

With this motive I repeat to Your Excellency my consideration and esteem.
God and Liberty. General Headquarters in San Luis Potosí.

December 30, 1846.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

His Excellency the 1st Secretary
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and
Interior, in charge of its office.

XVIII

Guaymas, January 4, 1847

Most Excellent Sir: Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.

Most respected and esteemed sir:

Full of sorrow and to a great degree moved by the painful ills which today are suffered by the Territory of Alta California in the active war waged against it by the United States of America, which has determined to conquer it at all cost, notwithstanding that I have done everything within my power to save it, as I have officially stated by repeated notes to the Supreme Government, today I have decided to give my countrymen the last proof of my good intentions in favor of their just cause, sending as commissioner Señor Don José Matias Moreno, Secretary of my Government, to the end that by word of mouth he may inform the Supreme Government of the lamentable state of that country, notwithstanding the bravery with which its inhabitants fight to maintain the national liberty and independence, and to entreat from the same Supreme Government prompt aid of arms and war supplies which California needs so much, that, small though those resources may be, they would undoubtedly be the saving anchor of that vessel, about to shatter itself among the rocks of that stormy sea.

I flatter myself that the Supreme Government and Chief and your worthy Ministry which today rule the destinies of the Nation, and whose sentiments tend only towards the public happiness of the Fatherland, will, therefore, not be indifferent to the laments of California, considering that she is unarmed, without provisions of war, far from the current of peoples, and bearing in mind the heroic effort with which she maintains the national honor and the bloody and unequal struggle.

Therefore, Sir, I expect that this, my envoy, will receive the favorable welcome which I desire, being attended to at once because it will thus suit the general interests of the nation.

Allow me, Your Excellency, to take the liberty to remind you in particular about Señor Moreno, to the end that he may be aided with financial resources on account of his salaries as secretary, so that he may be able to complete his mission, because he carries with him not even a sufficient amount for his necessary expenses.

Will Your Excellency please overlook so much annoyance and receive the

fond regard from him who with honorable pleasure subscribes himself your most attentive friend and faithful servant who humbly kisses your hands.

Pio Pico.

XIX

Most Excellent Sir:

A deplorable state prevails in the precious territory of California, which is invaded from all quarters by the powerful forces of the United States of America which attack it simultaneously by land and sea, while the country is unable to maintain a long struggle because it finds itself absolutely unarmed, without war supplies or money, in which condition it cannot even dream of signs of a victory over so colossal an enemy, if it is not speedily aided by the Supreme National Government.

The sons of that country, notwithstanding the grave deficiencies in which they find themselves in carrying on a war, have mastered all the dangers and faced all sorts of difficulties, and invoking the august names of Fatherland and Liberty, have arisen en masse, arming themselves in the manner that chance may provide in order to maintain a terrible and unequal struggle under the plan of offensive and defensive guerrillas, by which they have caused the enemy heavy damages, thus bringing about a state of affairs wherein the invaders may not count as theirs any but the territory upon which they momentarily stand. The garrisons of those towns daily suffer frequent changes, being sometimes occupied by the enemy and at other times by the natives, and [in these conflicts] blood is shed without hindrance because war to the death has been proclaimed, each party swearing not to desist from the enterprise until it has been exterminated or has triumphed over its enemy.

With such a conflict raging I have not hesitated to send Señor Don José Matias Moreno, Secretary of the Government of that Department, as Commissioner to the Supreme Government, so that, presenting himself before Your Excellency, he may by word of mouth lay before you the afflictions of California, and entreat from the Supreme Chief of the Nation the indispensable resources of war which that heroic people need. This Commissioner, who is minutely informed of all the ills suffered by California and of the salutary measures that must be applied, will inform Your Excellency in detail so that by your mediation it may be transmitted to the knowledge of His Excellency the General entrusted with the Supreme Executive Power of the Nation, by whose zeal and patriotism I have the most flattering hope to see cured the grave ills of that country so worthy of a better fate which is the due of a Fatherland which I love so well.

I believe it is not amiss to place in Your Excellency's superior knowledge that on the 18th of last month there passed to California along the frontiers of this State of Sonora three hundred armed North American colonists, without their having been molested in their transit notwithstanding that advance notice of it was received.

It only remains for me to inform Your Excellency that said Commissioner Señor Moreno does not have with him even the necessary funds for his indispensable expenses on such a long trip, a reason that makes me entreat Your Excellency to see fit to order that he be given the sum that may be conveniently spared, on account of his salaries as Secretary, until he has fulfilled his mission.

Your Excellency please accept the most cordial protest of attention and distinguished regard.

God and Liberty. Guaymas, January 4, 1847.

Pio Pico.

Most Excellent Minister of
Interior and Foreign Relations.
Mexico.

XX

On this date I say to His Excellency the Minister of War and Marine what I now copy :

"Excellent Sir :

"On having the satisfaction of addressing Your Excellency for the first time with the object of reporting to you the conclusion of the war that was started in this country against the American forces for its defence, I beg Your Excellency not to look upon my statements with vexation, because although they may be simple they are stamped with the character of truth. It is very probable that Captain Don José Maria Flores, who was invested with the political and military commands of this Department when the citizens of this town, with daring hand, launched the cry of liberty and independence to which we were bound by the sacrifices of the Fathers of the Country, must have informed the Supreme Government in full detail of the state in which the country was left at the time that Don José Castro, who was the Commandant General, departed, of the manner in which the uprising that took place in this city began, as well as the situation in which the Department found itself at the moment of departure of the aforesaid Señor Flores for interior points of the Republic; and for the same reason I omit mentioning those facts more especially since I have seen in a period of time part of the events that occurred in California, consequently I pass along to my principal and real object. After the last battle had taken place in which we fought as far as possible and in which the valiant defenders made a vigorous resistance, it became necessary for Don José Maria Flores, Commandant General and Chief of the volunteer companies, to take his departure from the country, as much to save his life, which would have been in danger at the hands of our enemies if he had had the misfortune to have been taken prisoner by them, as well as because the morale of the people had fallen, due to the total lack of resources, and also that he might report to the Supreme Government; I was left, for that reason, in command of the small force of volunteer defenders of the Fatherland, by

virtue of the fact that I held the rank of Major General, although without hopes of even the smallest success, because I no longer flattered myself that we might attain a victory. Consoled by the thought that Señor Flores might be listened to and that with him present the first magistrate would not abandon us, and managing to prove that force and force alone would prevent us from yielding to the domination of our uncalled-for enemies, together with my compatriots we made the last efforts, notwithstanding the extreme lack of powder, arms, men, and all kinds of supplies. Thus it was that, seeing ourselves, some one hundred and eighteen men including the officers, poorly armed and without any more ammunition than two cannon shots and a few for our muskets, threatened by more than seven hundred soldiers and marines who were occupying this city and lay at my rear under the command of Commodore Stockton, and very close to six hundred on my front not far away under orders of Colonel J. C. Fremont, both forces with good armament, sufficient ammunition of all calibers and superior pieces of artillery, well manned and with all equipment; I nevertheless wished to give the last impulse to save the country and to guarantee the lives and properties of the inhabitants that had been for some time at the mercy and will of the occupying force since the revolt of the country. We accomplished this in the most honorable way that we could in times as difficult as those that surrounded us, as Your Excellency will see by copy Number 1 [XX-a] of the treaties which I inclose for your attention. Likewise there remained in our hands, in spite of the fact that it is not expressly so declared, all the arms that were considered personal property, which consisted mainly of lances that, with a great deal of effort, had been made in this same country during the rule of Señor Flores. Of the number and kinds of armament that we delivered according to the agreement in the capitulation Your Excellency will learn from the copy of the receipt which I have the satisfaction of inclosing for you marked Number 2, that one of the pieces of artillery was the identical gun lost by General Kearny in the action at San Pascual. Your Excellency will observe that in the accompanying copy there appear only the articles of capitulation without the preamble giving the reasons or grounds upon which I supported myself in entering into the treaties, which reason I have already shown, moreover, to be this, that, finding ourselves in a place utterly lacking in stationery supplies, and it being necessary according to the agreement to conclude that same day, it was agreed that on arriving at the capital the terms would be set down in a more formal fashion, making such modifications as might be necessary, I being pledged to agree to this in spite of the fact that I distrusted the carrying out of the above, for the reason that the enemy had news of the dispersion [of our forces] which I feared, and of which he took advantage to make claims about things which had been satisfactory before. The result was that we saw ourselves obliged to yield and remain silent until the longed-for day shall come when we shall again see ourselves free and happy beneath the shadow of our symbolic flag.

"This was the end, Excellent Sir, of the struggle carried on by the inhabitants of California against the invaders of our Country, during the space of four months, by dint of great sacrifices, without any other help than their loyalty in suffering the vicissitudes and hardships of war, nor any other protection than that of Divine Providence who seemed to protect the sacred cause that was heroically defended by a handful of men who sprang to arms to recover their lost liberty. I suppose that Your Excellency has found out that, since the movement that was led by Señor Flores was made with great suddenness, it prevented a reunion here of the officers of the army who had scattered from this place clear to Sonora, that being the reason some of them were prisoners during all the time of the revolt and would have been unable to obtain their freedom if the capitulation had not been made, after which time they were again able to breathe more freely. Subsequent to the treaties I had the idea of assembling said officers so as to go and present myself with them before the Supreme Government, but this has unfortunately been prevented by the state of misery in which they find themselves because it is now more than a year since they have received their salaries, and because there have been no opportunities, due to the lack of vessels sailing from here to the coasts of Mexico, for even the foreign vessels that have come from those same coasts are being detained here with the limitations that they cannot touch at them [Mexican ports] in the meantime. And although we might have been able to take our departure by land, today it is impossible due to the general uprising of the Indians of the country clear to the Colorado River.

"This then, Excellent Sir, forces me to recommend to you these officers as well as the volunteers and some families that were left orphaned in consequence of the war, and I beg Your Excellency to have the goodness to place all this in the superior knowledge of His Excellency the President of the Republic. Likewise [I wish to report] that since the time that the treaties were made up to the present date, although there have been frequent removals of the military authorities on land, of commodores and of some who have been called governors, whose rules have been very short, said treaties have always been respected and complied with on both parts. This occasion gives me the opportunity to offer Your Excellency my attention and to assure you of due respect and subordination."

I forward this to Your Excellency to the end that through you it will be sent to His Excellency the President of the Republic, for the uses that may be found convenient.

God and Liberty. City of Los Angeles in Alta California.

April 5, 1847.

ANDRÉS PICO.

His Excellency the Governor
of Alta California, Don Pio Pico.

This is a copy of the original.

Pico.

XX-a

Articles of Capitulation entered into on the thirteenth day of January of eighteen hundred and forty-seven, by Don Antonio Carrillo, Squadron Commander and Don Agustin Olvera, Deputy, Commissioners named by Don Andrés Pico, Commander-in-Chief of the California forces belonging to the Mexican Government, and P. B. Reading, Major of the California Battalion, and Louis McLane, Captain of Artillery, and W. H. Russell, Staff Captain, Commissioners named by Lieutenant-Colonel of the Army of the United States of North America, J. C. Fremont, Military Commander of the Territory of California.

Article 1. The Commissioners on behalf of the Californians pledge themselves that on presenting their forces to Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont, they will deliver the arms that they have belonging to the Government, also the artillery. And that they will retire peacefully to their homes, conforming to the laws and regulations of the United States of North America, and will not take up arms again during the present war between Mexico and the United States and will keep and promote the peace and pacify the country.

Article 2. That the Commissioners, on behalf of Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont, pledge themselves to fulfill the first article and guarantee the lives and properties of the people under oath.

Article 3. That until peace is made between the Governments of the United States and Mexico, no Californian or Mexican citizen shall be obliged to take an oath of allegiance.

Article 4. Any Californian or Mexican citizen who may wish to leave the country will be permitted to do so without let or hindrance.

Article 5. That in view of the preceding articles, the Californians shall enjoy equal rights and privileges with the citizens of the United States of North America.

Article 6. All the officers and citizens or other foreigners shall enjoy the protection and guarantees according to Article 2.

Article 7. It is understood that these treaties shall not serve as obstacles to the settlement of matters which in the future and in justice may be required by both parties.

Field of Cahuenga, Thirteenth of January, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-seven.

Signed:

JOSÉ ANTONIO CARILLO, Squadron Commander

AGUSTIN OLVERA, Deputy.

P. B. READING, Major California Battalion.

LOUIS McLANE, Commanding Artillery California Battalion.

W. H. RUSSELL, Staff Captain California Battalion.

Approved, Andrés Pico, Squadron Commander and Chief of the National forces in California.

Approved, J. C. Fremont, Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. Army and Military Commander of California.

Additional Article. All paroles given by the officers and citizens of the United States or other persons and by the citizens and naturalized Mexicans are mutually canceled by the present Capitulation and all conditions attached to said paroles become null and void from this date forward, and all the prisoners on both sides are set entirely free.

City of Los Angeles, Sixteenth day of January, Eighteen Hundred and Forty-seven.

JOSÉ ANTONIO CARRILLO, Squadron Commander. AGUSTIN OLVERA, Deputy.

P. B. READING, Major California Battalion.

LOUIS McLANE, Commanding Artillery California Battalion.

W. H. RUSSELL, Captain of California Battalion.

Approved. Andres Pico, Squadron Commander and Chief of the National Forces in California.

Approved. J. C. Fremont, Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. Army and Military Commandant of California.

This is a copy of the original.

Pico.

XXI

Most Excellent Sir:

His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Western Division, Don Anastacio Bustamante with the date of the 24th of last month says the following:

"Excellent Sir: Don José Matias Moreno, Commissioner coming from California, on the 23rd of the present [month], tells me:

" 'Excellent Sir: I have before me Your Excellency's Superior note of the 21st of this month, and I see with inexplicable sorrow the very compromised circumstances of the Supreme Government, which prevent it at present from being able to aid Alta California.

" 'Sir, on departing from that country due to the commission on which I have come, I left there the only resources upon which I depend for my living; they being now in the power of the rapacious usurper, I have no other recourse than that of appealing to the Superior Government through Your Excellency so that it may be pleased to use my worthless services in this place, or wherever it may deem it convenient, for I am resolved never to return to my country while the war lasts or while it is held by the invaders, even though I may have to lose everything and to suffer whatever privations and hardships may follow a man without funds in places where he has no acquaintances. Your Excellency knows my position and I hope that you will do all that lies in your power in my behalf.

" 'This occasion gives me the honorable satisfaction of renewing for Your Excellency all my consideration and esteem.'

"And I have the honor of inclosing it to Your Excellency so that the Supreme Government, taking into consideration the services rendered by Señor Moreno, may help him if you believe it just and convenient, because it is not within my authority to do so, because the interested party does not follow the profession of arms, previously having been the Secretary to the Territorial Government of California.

"I repeat for Your Excellency the protestations of my esteem."

And I have likewise to forward it to Your Excellency by order of His Excellency the Provisional President, recommending that you see fit to order, together with His Excellency, what is to be done with this individual.

God and Liberty. Mexico, May 3, 1847.

GUTIERREZ.

Most Excellent Minister of
Interior and Foreign Relations.

XXII

Excellent Sir:

The General-in-Chief of the Western Division, well deserving of the Country, Don Anastacio Bustamante, on the 15th of the current month tells me what I copy literally.

"His Excellency the Minister of War on the 3rd of the present month tells me:

" 'Excellent Sir: On this date I inclose to His Excellency the Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations Your Excellency's official note number 202, of the 24th of last month, in which I forward another one from the Commissioner of Alta California Don José Matias Moreno, in which he requests that his services be employed, to the end that Your Excellency may decide with His Excellency the Provisional President on the necessary order. I inclose it to you for your knowledge as a result of your official note relative to it.' "

And I have the honor of forwarding it to Your Excellency with the object that if you see fit you may be pleased to obtain from His Excellency the Provisional President the order that he may think convenient, in the knowledge that I find myself stranded in this city of Tepic, being unable to return to California because it is occupied by the enemy, and where we, the Mexicans who have fought for the National integrity, are exposed to the persecution of the invader; and wishing on my part to continue to lend my services to the defence of the Fatherland, I hope that Your Excellency will let me know what His Excellency the Provisional President may have seen fit to order.

I have the honor of offering Your Excellency my highest subordination and respect. God and Liberty, Tepic, May 22, 1847.

JOSÉ MATIAS MORENO.

His Excellency the Minister of
Interior and Foreign Relations.
Mexico.

XXIII

Excellent Sir:

In the rôle of Commissioner from Alta California to entreat aid from the Supreme Government for the defence of that country, notwithstanding that I have considered my mission completed because of the impossibility in which the Government now finds itself to furnish the supplies considered necessary, and with my heart burning with patriotism and a vehement desire to punish the ambition of our invaders, I cannot remain silent since finding out the condition which exists in that part of the Republic that ignominiously groans beneath the rule of the cruelest vandalism. The English Brig *Williams* that, coming from Monterey, anchored at San Blas on May 26 of last month with 14 days of sailing, has given the news that the forces that maintain the rule of North America in those places are few, giving assurance that they do not amount to two thousand men, although it does abound in European people such as English, French, Spanish, etc., that is, adventuresome people who are looking only for a means to make a living; and that, in consequence of a new Governor having arrived there from North America, those that were there first were discontented to the degree of offering the natives of the country to espouse their cause. They also say that, due to a rumor that circulated there that Colonel Don José Castro was on the march in company with His Excellency General Don Anastacio Bustamante with an army, the patriotic spirit of those inhabitants is revived and some two hundred have departed, driving some thousand horses toward the Colorado River to meet them. All this, Most Excellent Sir, gives me to understand that with the least effort being made by Mexico, even the sending of six hundred men, the natives there would rise generally and the victory for our sacred cause would be assured. An expedition such as this, that would not cost over ten thousand pesos, and that would produce the most satisfactory results, I believe should be furnished by the Supreme Government without objections. They also state that it is said there that this summer they expect six hundred wagons, which are already on the way. Thus it is that what today can be done at such a small cost, will later be impossible and we shall lose even the hope that there shall ever wave over that country again the tri-colored flag, emblem of Mexican liberty.

I would be unworthy of the precious name of Mexican if I did not hasten to place this news in Your Excellency's superior knowledge; begging you that on elevating them to that of His Excellency the President you will give credit to my intentions if you thus esteem it convenient.

I protest to Your Excellency the assurance of my respect and singular esteem.

God and Liberty. Tepic, June 5, 1847.

JOSÉ MATIAS MORENO.

His Excellency the Minister of
Interior and Foreign Relations.
Mexico.

XXIV

His Excellency the Provisional President having been informed of your official note of May 22 of last month [XXII] in which, on forwarding the one dated the 15th of the same which His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Western Division saw fit to send you, you manifested your wishes to continue to give your services in the defence of the Fatherland; His Excellency orders me to tell you in reply, that he has already ordered that you shall be aided so that you may come to this Capital.

God and Liberty. June 5, 1847.

[*Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.*]

Señor Don José Matias Moreno.

XXV

Your note of the 5th instant [XXIII] in which, after reporting the news received by the English Brig *Williams* coming from Monterey, you ask for aid in men so as to expel the foreign enemy from the Territory of California, I forward on this date to the Minister of War so that through him the corresponding decision shall be made.

I have the honor of telling you [the above] in reply.

God and Liberty. June 14, 1847.

[*Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.*]

Señor Don José Matias Moreno.

Tepic.

XXVI

Excellent Sir:

Señor Don José Matias Moreno says to this Ministry with date of the 5th instant what follows [XXIII]:

"Excellent Sir: In the rôle of Commissioner, etc."

and I forward it to Your Excellency for your knowledge and so that you may see fit to order the corresponding resolution.

God and Liberty. June 14, 1847.

[*Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.*]

His Excellency the Minister of War.

Mexico.

XXVII

Excellent Sir:

His Excellency the Provisional President has been informed of Your Excellency's official note of the 14th of the present month in which you indorse the one addressed to you by Don José Matias Moreno Commissioner of Alta California, in which he discloses the actual condition of that part of the Republic that finds itself invaded by the North American enemies, and that by the aid of six hundred men and ten or twelve thousand pesos, it would be

easy to achieve the reconquest of that country. His Excellency has seen fit to decide that I should reply to Your Excellency as I have the honor of doing: that the estimate of said Señor Moreno is extraordinarily mistaken; but nevertheless taking into consideration the situation in California and the patriotic wishes of the same gentleman, agreeing with them, the Supreme Government in the midst of the grave difficulties in which it finds itself is meditating exclusively on the ways of acquiring the pecuniary resources, as well as the forces, so as to carry out the proposed expedition, and will notify the Commissioner about it at the proper time.

With that motive I reiterate to Your Excellency the considerations of my esteem.

God and Liberty. Mexico, June 17, 1847.

ALCORTA.

[*Minister of War.*]

His Excellency the Minister of
Interior and Foreign Relations.

XXVIII

With today's date His Excellency the Minister of War tells me the following [XXVII]:

"Excellent Sir: His Excellency the Provisional President etc." And I forward it to you as a result of your official note relative to it.

God and Liberty. June 17, 1847.

[*Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.*]

Señor Don José Matias Moreno.
Tepic.

XXIX

Excellent Sir:

From Mulegé, Port of Lower California, on October 27 of last year I had the honor of addressing to Your Excellency a brief summary of the state of affairs in California, of the reasons that had forced me to abandon the country, and of the measures that in my opinion should be taken to wrest it from the hands of the infamous invaders that conquered it [XII]. As proof of my statements I attached at that time nine documents for Your Excellency. Subsequently and with dates of November 15th and 16th of the same year [XIII and XIV], on my arrival at Guaymas in the State of Sonora, I made similar statements to Your Excellency, telling you at the same time of the victory won by the Californians over the North American invaders, and soliciting, with the urgency demanded by the circumstances, the resources of men and arms which, if despatched at an opportune time and united with the inhabitants of the state under my rule, would have operated successfully and would have reconquered the country, of which only by superior force could the enemy regain possession against the laws of civilized nations.

The Most Excellent Señor Lafragua, at that time exercising the duties of Your Excellency's Ministry, saw fit to send me a reply dated the 19th of last December [XV], to my two last notes which I have mentioned, generously praising the conduct of the Californians and promising me that in regard to the aids that I requested, the corresponding and necessary orders were being issued so that they might be executed at an opportune time.

This happy hope, Excellent Sir, has made me stay in Guaymas awaiting to be notified about further measures that His Excellency the President of the Republic might be pleased to order, so that I might take them to my country, where with my presence and that of the aid that the Supreme Government might give me, the courage of those inhabitants might be kindled anew and we would undoubtedly have made the audacious conqueror bite the dust, thus giving the whole Republic a day of glory and making the whole world see that California wishes to belong only to the great Mexican confederacy.

Finally, to make my statements to the Supreme Authority clearer, in January of the present year I ordered the Secretary of my Government, Don José Matias Moreno, to go to the Capital and verbally inform the Supreme Government of the situation in California, of the most adequate means for its defence and the urgent necessity that there was for the immediate dispatch of the resources that I had solicited.

Unfortunately, Your Excellency, I have seen and felt the unhappy events that have taken place in the Republic due to the same invasion, happenings that, because they are so near and of such transcendental danger, have necessarily and preferably claimed the attention of the Supreme Government; for which reason I have not wished to annoy it further by informing it of the state of discouragement in which the patriotic Californians find themselves, considering themselves abandoned to their unfortunate fate. Therefore, I shall limit myself for the present to my individual self; assuring you as before, that if California is aided opportunely with help in men and armaments, it will recover its lost liberty, it will oust the infamous Yankee from the country and it will again be able proudly to call itself a Free State of the Mexican Republic.

The hurried departure that I was forced to make, leaving my family and interests abandoned, I have already made known to Your Excellency in my note of October 27 already cited. Although I enjoy some wealth in my country, the abandonment of my property which I was forced to make, my hasty departure and the hope of my speedy return, made me bring only the necessary funds for the expenses of a short sojourn; but now, ten months since I arrived in this strange country, with the communications cut between it and the one of my birth where I have my modest fortune, and unable to foresee when and how my return will be accomplished, I find myself obliged to solicit from His Excellency the President a positive order, whether it be for my stay in Sonora to await the aids promised to California, furnishing me in this case

the funds for my maintenance, or perhaps a remittance so that I may return to my country, where against all my feelings I would be forced to submit to the ominous yoke that has been imposed upon us, and that I could endure only after all hope had been removed, with the intention of saving my limited property in California and rejoining my family.

Your Excellency please make known to His Excellency the President of the Republic what I have disclosed, accepting at the same time the considerations of my high esteem.

God and Liberty. Guaymas, July 8, 1847.

Pio Pico.

His Excellency the Minister of
Foreign Affairs and Interior.
Mexico.

XXX

Excellent Sir:

By the documents numbered 1, 2, and 3, copies of which I have the honor of duly inclosing to Your Excellency, you will learn of the last events that took place in Alta California between the Mexican forces and those of the United States of America. Be pleased if you think it pertinent to give an account of them to His Excellency the President of the Republic so that on perusing them he may inform himself of the unfortunate circumstances to which the people of Alta California find themselves reduced.

This occasion furnishes me the opportunity to offer Your Excellency my highest consideration and esteem.

God and Liberty. Hermosillo, October 25, 1847.

Pio Pico.

Most Excellent Minister of
Foreign Relations, State and Interior.
Mexico.

XXXI

Excellent Sir:

Many times, and recently with date of July 26 of this year, I manifested to Your Excellency the lack of funds to which I am reduced due to the migration that I had to make because the forces of the United States of America had occupied the State with the object of capturing me. Unfortunately up to date I have not had the honor to know the decision made by His Excellency the President in regard to my indicated statement, and as the honor of the Nation demands my residence as a public employee outside of the States occupied by the enemy of our independence, and that I must await the last decision of His Excellency the President, I find myself obliged to repeat to Your Excellency the plea that you make known to His Excellency the President of the Republic the unfortunate situation to which I am reduced, to the

end that he may be pleased to issue an order so that in the State of Sonora I may be aided and ministered to, as an employee who is dependent upon the Central Government.

With such a motive I extend to Your Excellency my greatest appreciation and consideration.

God and Liberty. Hermosillo. October 25, 1847.

PIO PICO.

Sir: Minister of Interior
and Foreign Relations.

XXXII

Excellent Sir:

The Gefé Politico of Alta California in official note of the 25th of last month tells me what I copy [XXX]:

"By the documents numbers 1, 2, and 3, etc."

And I forward them to Your Excellency for your knowledge, and attach copies of those cited.

November 30, 1847.

PEÑA Y PEÑA.

[*Minister of Foreign Relations, etc.*]

His Excellency the Minister of War.

XXXIII

Excellent Sir:

With date of October 25 last, Don Pio Pico writes me from Hermosillo saying what I copy [XXXI]:

"Excellent Sir: Many times, etc."

And I forward it to Your Excellency so that you may be pleased to aid Señor Pico with whatever may be possible as a reward for the good services which he has rendered in favor of the National independence.

December 18, 1847.

PEÑA Y PEÑA.

[*Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations.*]

His Excellency the Minister of the Treasury.
Mexico.

XXXIV

With this date I forward to the Minister of the Treasury Your Excellency's official letter of October 25 last [XXXI] so that in conformity with your request you may be aided in any way possible.

I inform Your Excellency by superior order in reply to your official communication cited above.

December 18, 1847.

PEÑA Y PEÑA.

Señor Don Pio Pico.

Most Excellent Sir:

XXXV

Forced by the scarcity of resources that besets me and that increases daily, I have patiently awaited for Your Excellency to communicate to me the decision of the Most Excellent President of the Republic respecting the pecuniary aid which I entreated in my official note of October 25 of last year [XXXI]. Your Excellency is informed about the situation facing the State of California over which I ruled, occupied by the North American enemies, and you will be equally convinced of the impossibility of my presenting myself there, at least not until I know the last decisions of the Supreme Government of the Nation, the result of which is the indispensable necessity, so I believe, for my stay in the State of Sonora, and I trust in Your Excellency's zeal to see that I am given the aid that I have solicited in my above note; entreating, if it please you, an order from the Most Excellent President of the Republic so that I may be aided in the State of Sonora.

On addressing myself this time to Your Excellency I offer anew my distinguished regard and consideration.

God and Liberty. Hermosillo, February 28, 1848.

Pio Pico.

Most Excellent Sir:

Minister of Interior and
Foreign Relations.
Mexico.

Excellent Sir:

XXXVI

On the 18th of last December this Ministry said to that under Your Excellency's charge, what I copy [XXXIII]:

"Excellent Sir: With date of October 25, etc."

And that Ministry having made no reply on the matter I am forced to remind you of it, inclosing the letter which in respect to the subject was addressed to me by Señor Pio Pico with date of February 28 last [XXXV] and is as follows:

"Excellent Sir: Forced by the lack, etc."

All of which I place before Your Excellency by Superior order, expecting that you will let me know the results.

April 18, 1848.

ROSA.

[Of the Ministry of Interior and Foreign Relations.]

His Excellency the Minister
of the Treasury.

XXXVII

Excellent Sir:

Many and repeated have been the times that I have addressed myself to that Ministry, giving an account of the events taking place in the unfortunate State that has been committed to my rule, without having obtained

even one single reply to my communications. And if on this present occasion I am resolved again to trouble Your Excellency's attention and that of the Most Excellent President, it is much more to fulfil what I consider a sacred obligation, and because I am moved by anguish and desperation, rather than because I should expect some favorable decision for those unfortunate people, undoubtedly worthy of all the consideration and protection of the Supreme Government of the Nation, more so than any other portion of the Republic.

The Californians have revealed in their struggle against the North American enemies a heroism unequaled in the history of the present war, and have been deserving of, if not the protection of the Supreme Government, at least its sympathy and consideration. But until now the recompense for their heroic efforts in behalf of the independence and honor of their country has been neglect and silence.

Self-esteem suggests to me that surely many of my communications have not arrived at their destination, because had they been received by that Ministry, they would not have been looked upon with so much disdain. Therefore, I shall write a very succinct account of the events that took place in Alta California and a summary of the contents of some of my communications to the Supreme Government; for all of which I beg Your Excellency's earnest attention and that of the Most Excellent President of the Republic, as also for the reflections that may naturally emanate from consideration of them.

In my notes of June 29 and July 13, 1846 [V], I gave an account, for the information of the Most Excellent President, of the aggressions begun in the State under my command by the land and sea forces of the United States, and spoke extensively of the events which had occurred, imploring the aid of the Supreme Government.

The immense distance from the center of the Republic, and the fact that no aid was hastened to us, forced the Californians to entrust the country's defence to their own and isolated efforts; but notwithstanding their heroic work, the result was the lamentable one of which the entire Republic has heard. Of all these happenings and of subsequent ones I have informed that Ministry in detail, in the communication dated at Molegé, Lower California, October 27 of the same year [XII].

On the 9th of August of the aforesaid year, the Commandant General Don José Castro notified me officially of his decision to leave the country [XII-d], impelled to this step because he had no hopes of coming out victorious in any encounter with the superior forces of the enemy, since he was convinced of the absolute lack of all the materials and supplies of war, notwithstanding the aid which the State Government had been able to furnish him. He invited me to go with him before the Supreme Government to entreat the necessary aids to repel the invaders. A copy of this communication has been forwarded to that Ministry.

As a consequence, on the following day, August 10, in a session of the hon-

orable Assembly [XII-e] it was informed of the Commandant General's communication, and it was unanimously resolved that, considering the lack of implements with which to carry on a war with good success, and to the end that the enemy might not find in office any of the established authorities (leaving the towns without representation), the Assembly should be dissolved, and that the Governor and the Commandant General should leave the State, going to the Capital of the Republic, in order personally to place before the Superior Magistrate of the Nation the condition in which the State was left, it having succumbed for the time being to the force of circumstances. All the subordinate authorities likewise ceased their functions; a circular note was sent to the Consuls of the friendly nations resident in Alta California [XII-f], and I issued a proclamation to the public [XII-g], informing it of the reason for the departure of the principal authorities, promising them my prompt return with the aids that I would entreat from the Supreme Government. Copies of all these documents have been forwarded to that Ministry.

The enemy to the number of more than five hundred men made its entry into the City of Los Angeles, Capital of Alta California, on August 13, and on the 17th issued the proclamation [XII-h], a copy of which has been forwarded to that Ministry.

In consequence of the resolution of the Assembly and my decision, I took my departure from the City of Los Angeles, and the Commandant General did likewise, taking the road to Sonora by way of the Colorado River. I found myself obliged to remain in hiding for some days until my family might accumulate the indispensable means for so lengthy a journey, and later, finding the roads cut off by enemy parties, I was obliged to depart for the Lower California frontier on September 7, and after traversing mountains and deserts, I arrived at Moleg  on October 22, from which port with date of the 27th of the same month [XII] I placed before that Ministry all that had happened up to that date, forwarding copies of all the documents necessary for your information.

From Moleg , having embarked in a launch and in imminent danger of falling into enemy hands, I was able to cross to the port of Guaymas, in the State of Sonora, from which port I addressed diverse communications to that Ministry. In that of November 15th [XIII] I gave a report of the reaction of the Californians and of the victory won by them under the command of Captain Don Jos  Maria Flores, during September 26th and 27th, when by their courageous behavior they gave new proofs of their adherence to the rest of the Republic, to which alone they want to belong; and I entreated anew, with all the persuasiveness of which I am capable, for the protection and aid from the Supreme Government. To this communication Se or Lafragua, on June 19, condescended to reply to me in a laconic way that "The Minister of War had taken some measures for California's aid."

Hope made me stay in Guaymas awaiting to be told of the measures that

might have been taken by the Minister or His Excellency the President, so that with knowledge of them or accompanying the aid I might return to my country where with my presence and other new resources the fire of patriotism in those inhabitants might have been kindled anew. Unfortunately, however, no further word has been received, and I have not had the honor of receiving any other reply or communication of any kind in answer to my repeated representations.

In a subsequent communication dated November 25 I made known to that Ministry my feelings, finding myself in the necessity [of writing] as I was unable to carry out my resolution of presenting myself before the Supreme Government to give it a verbal account of the ills suffered by my unfortunate country, and begged that my situation be made known to the Most Excellent President, the which being taken into consideration, he would see fit to order a payment in my favor of some amount on account of my salary, against the collectors' offices of Guaymas or Mazatlan. Nothing was replied to my request.

Later, in January, 1847, I decided after great sacrifices that the Secretary of my Government, Don José Matias Moreno, should go to the Capital of the Republic to reveal verbally to the Supreme Government the condition of California, [to set forth] the most adequate means for its recuperation and defence and the urgent necessity that they be promptly and effectively attended to with the necessary resources. But the mission of Señor Moreno had as my unfortunate a result as my repeated representations. When I was flattering myself that he might be discharging his commission, he presented himself before me on his return to Guaymas, telling me that, having appeared in Tepic before the General-in-Chief of the Western Division, Don Anastacio Bustamante, the latter dissuaded him from proceeding on his mission, stating verbally that I had already ceased to exercise my functions as Governor of California and that it was impossible that any aid could be given to that unfortunate State.

I at once addressed myself to that Ministry, with date of July 16, relating all that had occurred, expressing, as best as my dejection and despair allowed me, my sorrow at seeing my country abandoned to its invaders without giving even one blow to save it, as well as my grief because of the unfruitful results of all my struggles and sufferings in its behalf. I reiterate now what I said at that time, for it is impossible for me to remain silent, and before Your Excellency and the Supreme Magistrate of the Nation I repeat that I expect a definite statement regarding the insinuations of Señor Bustamante, who, I cannot persuade myself to believe, has authority from the Supreme Government to ignore my representation and to sever the thread of all hope of aid for my country. I have considered and do consider the verbal reply (because he excused himself from putting it in writing) of the General-in-Chief of the Western Division as very depreciative to my character and principles, and I believe myself with the right to insist as a public official that the Supreme

Government should undo such lies. I am not impelled to this by the ambition for authority, I aspire only to the good of my Fatherland, and for this I have faced dangers and risks and privations of which it is useless to give Your Excellency an account.

What a disappointment, Excellent Sir, for me and for my countrymen the Californians to have to return to my country and to make them see the lack of welcome which their outcries have had with the Supreme Government, and the worthlessness of all their valorous efforts and of my struggles. It is well and good that I be deprived of my investiture, since it is useless as it is at present and will be more useless in the future when California shall cease to be a fragment of the great Mexican family; but most regrettable it shall be for me to appear in that unfortunate country without taking even some document with which I can make them see that I have been deposed by that Supreme Authority from the office with which my fellow citizens honored me.

My personal situation is such as may be imagined to be that of a man away from his country, his family and his kindred; in a strange land in which he has neither acquaintances nor friends, and is lacking in all resources even for subsistence. I do not wish to distract Your Excellency's attention with my complaints, but allow me to say this, that for three years I have served the office of Governor of California without having seen during all that time one single *real* of my salary; furthermore, I have paid out of my private purse the salaries of the Secretary of my Administration, the cost of stationery, and various other expenses that have been necessary in my emigration. In my country I possess some wealth, and now with all communications cut between this State and that of my birth I am unable to furnish myself with resources of any kind. This has forced me to request, from Guaymas, that that Ministry might furnish me with some amount on account of my credit, but it has already been seen that no notice has been taken of my request.

I have gone to the Governor of this State to solicit some aid even though it may be in the form of a reimbursement, but the public hardships have been pointed out to me in reply. But what I suffer here is not comparable to the sufferings of my spirit, seeing my honor outraged, and in mine that of my compatriots, and recalling the lack of attention that has been given my outcries which are but the echo of those of the unfortunate inhabitants of California. Diverse other petitions have I sent to the Supreme Government, from Guaymas as well as from this place, where I had to come in consequence of the bombardment of that port by the Americans and the resulting abandonment by its inhabitants; but all these are only restatements of what was said in the communications which I have already cited, and I abstain from making further reference to them.

I now entreat from His Excellency the President permission to return to my country, since I am not permitted to be of any use or service here, and

that I be allowed to withdraw in a way honorable alike for me and for the people whom I have had the honor of governing.

California will undoubtedly cease to belong to the Mexican family, it seems as if Fate has thus decreed it, but let the rest of the Republic take leave of it with decorum, and let it not be delivered to its new brothers, the States of the North, as if it were a flock of sheep or a band of horses. Let its Governor be treated, and in his person the people of California, with dignity. We want and have always wanted to be nothing if not Mexicans, and we have given brilliant proofs of our affection, but let not our cup of sorrow that our separation naturally brings us be embittered more by humiliating and scorning us.

If our dismemberment is necessary for the health of the rest of our brothers, let us be the victim, the sacrificial goat that shall pay for all the sins of the people. Providence undoubtedly wishes that it shall be thus; but although separated, we would like to conserve some remembrances of past relations and not to remember only that we have been objects of scorn abandoned to misery.

This occasion gives me for the last time the opportunity to offer Your Excellency the expressions of my highest consideration and esteem.

God and Liberty. Hermosillo, March 29, 1848.

Pio Pico.

Most Excellent Minister of
Interior and Foreign Relations.
Queretero.

HISTORY DEFERRED

The promised History of Monterey will appear in a future issue of the *Quarterly*. Due to illness, Mrs. Laura Bride Powers was not able to complete her article in time for its inclusion in this number.

ANNOUNCEMENT

In August the members of the Society will be notified by mail of a forthcoming series of lectures on California History to be given at the rooms of the Society beginning September 13, 1934, by Prof. Herbert I. Priestley under the auspices of the Extension Division of the University of California.

SENATOR BENTON LAYS HIS PLANS

SOME NEWLY-DISCOVERED MATERIAL ON THE
FRÉMONT COURT-MARTIAL

By Francis M. Wheat

Among the many documents, letters and scraps of family papers which Jessie Benton Frémont turned over to Charles F. Lummis for use in his literary efforts, and which Lummis gave to the Southwest Museum at Los Angeles before his death, are the letters here published.

On his way to Washington, with the impending court-martial of his son-in-law on his mind, Senator Thomas H. Benton stopped in Kentucky on business. While there his temper had time to smolder and burst into flame, and it was then that he wrote these letters. He was outraged at the exhibition of military discipline of which Frémont was being made the victim, and he was angry at Kearny's treatment of the explorer, both in California and *en route* from there to St. Louis. The fact that the Senator had in the past befriended Kearny served only to stimulate his fiery temper—until he could write of Kearny and his supporters, "May the Lord have mercy upon them, for I fear that I cannot."

The excitements of the forties have now been largely forgotten, and all of the actors in this particular *opera bouffe* have long since passed into history. As a chapter in the conquest of California, however, the Frémont-Stockton-Kearny episode seems of sufficient importance to warrant the preservation of these letters.

One other item in the same group of documents is a small scrap of paper on which Frémont scribbled in his characteristic hand a few notes respecting the situation and his reactions to it. It reads:

Genl. Kearney for 33 years befriended by Mr. Benton—got him made Brigadier Genl. in order that he might have the California [assignment(?)].

Disobeyed the Presidents order that I might remain in Cal^a. or come home.

Turned Carson back & gave my dispatches to other hands.

Refused to let me join my regiment in Mexico.

Stockton had made all the arrangements for me to remain Governor of California—had informed the Govt. wh[ich] acquiesced.

There was no reason for his setting these things aside, as he did. He should, for himself, and by himself, as a brave man have settled his quarrel with Stockton. Not devolved it upon me, and then charge me with disobedience to a superior officer because I declined to settle it in his favor.

I am indebted to Dr. Frederick W. Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, for permission to publish this material from the collection of that institution.

THE BENTON LETTERS

Woodford Co. Ken. Oct. 3^d. 1847.

Dear Sir,

Letters from Jessie of the 28th. arrived this morning, containing the order for your trial at Fortress Monroe. The place will not prevent me from attending, tho inconvenient to both of us; I shall therefore hasten the conclusion of my business to this State, and propose to start back in a week.

With respect to the trial upon Kearneys charges, they are absurd, as he did not assume the command until after the 1st. of March, and did not go to California by *virtue* of his orders, and acted under Stockton when he got there, and gave you mere orders of contradiction over the California Battalion, raised under Stockton, of which he did not assume the command until he settled the question of authority with Stockton's superior (Com. Shubrick).

With respect to the newspaper publications, they cannot be considered as anonymous, Capt. Emory being mentioned by me as the imputed author (which he has not denied) and besides the editors of the Picayune, Louisville Journal, St. Louis Republican & Pittsburg [sic] Gazette, all vouch the respectability of the informant, and they are not anonymous.¹

The court is a very respectable one. The acquittal upon the charges is easy enough, but you are entitled to credit for your conduct in California, and the misconduct of others deserves to be exposed. These gentry shall all have their conduct brought out. The drawing up of the written defense will afford a proper occasion for an ample view of your conduct, and will become a great historical document. The authentic & formal demand which you have made for a trial on all the publications against you, and no one appearing to sustain them, is viewed by the public as a vindication, and the publication of the letter in [the] Union, and thence into other papers, covers all the authors of these publications, Emory especially, with the apprehension of calumniators. That publication has given the course to public opinion on the whole subject.

I conceive that you have a *right* to a court of inquiry on the newspaper publications, and I look upon it as the duty of congress to enquire into the conduct of all the officers in the California conquest. This I will attend to myself: as to the court of Inquiry, it has not yet been refused, and it would be easy for some members of the court martial to constitute it. Will write frequently.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

Woodford Co. Ken. Oct. 7, 1847.

Dear Sir,

The copy of the Judge Advocates² letter of the 1st ins. to you, came to hand today, and in looking over the ten specifications, I find all of them to be anterior to the settlement of the question of rank with Shubrick, and conse-

quently all amounting to the same thing. I do not know when the settlement of the question was militarily, or regularly, communicated to you, but *if so communicated at all*, it must have been late in March; consequently all the specifications refer to acts done before Kearney had [been] relieved of the land command, and made that change known to you. We shall demolish him with all ease, & overwhelm him with disgrace.

The newspaper article from the Louisville Journal being put into the hands of the Judge Advocate, without instructions what to do with it, seems to leave it to your option to require charges upon it, and will be so considered if you do not. I, therefore, recommend you to require charges and specifications to be made out on all the points they contain, and even take the charge without specification: Emory, of course, to be a witness. To make sure, I recommend you to specify the points, by no means omitting one which you will find in some of the publications, that you and Stockton had mismanaged it [?] until Kearney arrived to set all right.

The fellow Bryant³ is in Lexington, and to meet him summon ——— Brennan, of the same neighborhood who is well spoken of by our friends for his faithful conduct towards you.

I wanted Hall to be summoned: we will finish his career in Mai [?]. He has been making speeches against you. I will write to my friends in the Platte country for a statement of what he has said.

Kearny brought all his witnesses from California with him, and all of them your enemies, & most of them engaged with him against you. He little knows how this will be turned against him. A military superior, perfidious by concealing his design, collects charges and witnesses to be used against a person ignorant of his design, conducted by him as a prisoner 3000 miles, without giving him a chance to defend himself by bringing testimony from the scene of operations. It is not only base, but shows a design to convict you by unfair & foul means.

You will have to employ counsel: it will be more nominal than otherwise, as I shall do the work. I would suggest Fendall [?], who has been employed for the family in Sally McDowell's case. It will be hard for you to get counsel to go to Fortress Monroe to be gone, only two [or] three months. This will be a reason for a change of place. It will be a new case if, after Kearny has brought you [from] California without witnesses, the government shall send you to a fort in the sea, to be tried without counsel! It will be a case for the interference of your friends, & for accepting the *aïd* from Charleston which will pay counsel fees. I shall be with you to the end, if it takes up the whole session of Congress.

If the place of trial is not changed before I get there, I will make a formal point of it.

I repeat: I wish you to require the judge advocate³ to make our charges on all the points of accusation, or insinuation against you, in the publications,

even dispensing with specifications where the charge was only in general terms, and for that purpose to name each point yourself in the words of the publications. The pardon of Jesus Pico—the capitulation granted Andres Pico—the duel affair with Mason must all be in.

Use your privilege of summoning witnesses without stint.

You will want copies of all orders to the Naval commanders in Cal. & to Kearny also.

Yours,

B.

Woodford Co. Ken.

[No date]

Dear Sir,

This Friday, and setting out on our return on Monday, this is the last letter I shall write you on the subject of the trial. I have a full view of the whole case—Kearney's as well as yours—and am perfectly at ease. You will be justified, and exalted: your persecutors will be covered with shame & confusion. The process through which you have gone is bitter; but it will have its Sweet. You will realize what Lord Palmerston said to Mr. Van Buren when he was rejected by the Senate, "that it was an advantage to a public man to be, in the course of his life, the subject of an outrage."

I mentioned yesterday the subject of counsel, nominal only, for I should do the main work. You had as well let this rest until I arrive. I shall make advantage out of it. It would probably be impossible to get suitable counsel to go to Old Point Comfort for an indefinite period, & study a new subject, and if you could find one the fee would be such as you could not pay⁴. I should not propose less than \$2000. If, therefore, the War Dept. perseveres in sending you to a fortress in the Atlantic ocean to be tried, for acts done on the Pacific, it will be sending you to be tried without counsel after bringing you across the continent to be tried without knowing it, & without a chance of getting testimony from California. I shall know how to make advantage out of all this, and it will force me, if it was not my previous attention [sic] to act as your counsel.

You may be at ease. The enemy is now in our hands, and may the Lord have mercy upon them; for I feel as if I could not.

Love to all, & yours truly,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

You will want Commodore Sloat to shew the commencement of your Service under the Naval officers, and McLane⁵ who was a naval officer & one of your commissioners. Your Service under Naval officers commenced under Sloat & finished under Shubrick, when Kearney relieved him, & made known the change regularly to you.

Frankfort, Ken.

Oct 14, 1847.

Dear Sir,

We were delayed two days in closing a contract for the sale of our small tract of land, 300 acres, adjoining the Saw tract, which was only concluded yesterday, and in an hour after we were on the way. The price was \$20,100, which was fair enough, but I should have had more prompt payments if we had been able to stay longer, & probably also have sold the main tract, as we wish to transfer all to Missouri.

We leave this place in the morning (Friday) arrive at Cincinnati tomorrow night—leave that Saturday morning for Washington—and expect to get there on Wednesday, or Thursday.

Mrs. B. and all as usual, and love to all.

Yours affectionally,

THOMAS H. BENTON

NOTES

1. Lieutenant W. H. Emory, author of *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth . . . to San Diego* (1848) appears to have been particularly jealous of Frémont. He wrote a long letter from Panama (while en route from California with Kearny's dispatches) viciously attacking Frémont and Stockton. This letter was published in the New York *Courier and Enquirer* on April 23, 1847, and presumably served as the basis for certain misleading articles which appeared in the New Orleans *Picayune* (April 22 and 27), the Louisville *Journal* (May 1) and the St. Louis *Republican* (May 4). Benton believed several other officers to be equally responsible with Emory for these prejudiced articles, and he attacked them savagely. (See Nevins, Allan, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer*, N. Y., 1928, Vol. 2, pp. 370-1.)

2. Col. John H. Lee, of the Army Ordnance Department, was appointed judge advocate of the Frémont court martial.

3. Edwin Bryant, of Kentucky, author of *What I Saw in California* (N. Y., 1848), was a witness at the court-martial. He had been a member of Frémont's California Battalion.

4. In addition to Benton, Frémont's brother-in-law, William Carey Jones, acted as counsel for the accused.

5. Louis McLane, who commanded the artillery of Frémont's California Battalion, afterwards a prominent banker and resident of San Francisco.

Padre Fray Junípero Serra

November 24, 1713 — August 28, 1784



TO COMMEMORATE the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Padre Fray Junípero Serra, founder of the first nine missions in California, the entry made by Fray Francisco Palóu at the time in the Book of the Dead of Mission San Carlos at Carmel where he died, August 28, 1784, is here set forth in full.

At the founding of this mission, June 3, 1770, Serra wrote on the title or first page of this same Book of the Dead:

*Omnes morimur et quasi dilabimur in
terram qua non revertuntur.*

2 Kings, Chapter XIV, verse xiv.

*For we must needs die and are as water
spilt upon the ground which cannot be
gathered up again.*

as translated in the Douai version of the Vulgate.



Padre Fray Junípero Serra

RECORD OF PADRE FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA'S DEATH
IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD OF MISSION SAN
CARLOS AT CARMEL IN THE HAND OF
FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU



On the 29th of August of 1784, in the Church of this Mission of San Carlos of Monterey, in the Chancel on the Gospel side before the Altar of Our Lady of Sorrows, preceding a vigil and a chanted Requiem Mass, having chanted the services that are prescribed by the manual of the Order for the burial of ecclesiastics, with the assistance of Señor Don Christobal Dias, Chaplain of the Packet-boat San Carlos anchored in this port, and of the Preaching Fathers Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar, Minister of Mission San Antonio and Fr. Mathias de Santa Cathalina, Minister of this Mission, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the Reverend Father Instructor Fr. Junípero Serra, President of the Missions and their founder, as is recorded in the 1st page of this and the rest of the Parochial Books of said Missions.

Native of the Blessed Province of Mallorca, where he took the robe on the 14th of September of 1730 at the age of 19 years 9 months and 21 days, in which he continued and showed himself as a true Religious, and being in it, he taught the course in Philosophy with great approbation; I having the good fortune to be one of his disciples. When the course was finished he was elected professor of Prime and Sacred Theology of the University of said Island of Mallorca, which honored him with the hood of Doctor of said Faculty, performing in the Chair to the satisfaction of the University and of the Sacred Province, being considered by all as very learned and no less able in the Pulpit, winning attention in both chairs he was commissioned to deliver the most important sermons.

Being regarded by most as inspired by God, with no illusions and despising the honors that he had and that he might expect to receive, he resolved to employ the talents with which God had endowed him in the conversion

of the pagan Indians, and having obtained the permissions and patent in the year [17]49, he joined the mission that had assembled at Cadiz bound for the Apostolic College for Propagation of the Faith, San Fernando in Mexico, where he arrived on the 1st of January 1750.

He continued in said College until the beginning of June of that year, when he was sent to the Missions of the Sierra Gorda, which had been founded six years previously, and he labored with great zeal always as a great example to all, for nine years, when he was called by the Prelate to go to the founding of the Missions on the San Saba River; and this having been prevented by the death of the Viceroy who was promoting that conquest, he continued at the College and in the office of Missionary among the Faithful and in affairs of the Holy Tribunal of the Faith which made him its deputy, discharging the office to the satisfaction of said Holy Tribunal. He was still exercising the office of Missionary among the Faithful in June of '67 and he was called by the Reverend Father Superior of the College, and appointed President of the 26 Missionaries who came to occupy the 15 missions of Old California which had been administered by the Jesuit Fathers. He continued in Old California for a whole year, staying at Mission Loreto, during which time he made several trips in order to visit those Missions, the ones in the South as well as those in the North.

In April of '69 he set out from Loreto with the land expedition for the discovery of this Port and that of San Diego; and on arriving at the frontier of Old California, in passing he founded the Mission of San Fernando de Vellicata; and on arriving at the Port of San Diego, while the expeditions were gone in search of the Port of Monterey, he founded Mission San Diego; and the year '70 he came up by sea at the discovery of this Port, and soon set his hand to the founding of this Mission, and he was wherever possible the founder of all the others which up to now have been founded, as is recorded in the parochial books. During the 14 years he made many journeys, one of them clear to Mexico, in order to hasten the means for these conquests, and the others in visiting the missions to encourage his subordinates with his Holy Zeal and counsel. Those journeys became more frequent as soon as he received the power of confirmation, which his zeal made him request, and he succeeded, during the time that the permission lasted (which expired on the 10th of last July), in confirming 56,307.

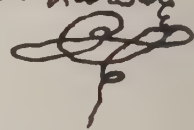
A month and a half after that authority terminated, His Reverence expired and surrendered his Soul to the Creator, being at the age of 70

years, nine months minus four days; having served as a Religious 53 years, eleven months and four days and as an Apostolic Missionary, 35 years, four and one-half months.

He prepared for death repeating the General Confession which he had made several times; and feeling his chest ailment becoming worse and that he was running some fever, on the 27th of this month, after having prayed the Divine Office through the third hour, he went to the church unassisted, on foot, to receive the Sacrament of the Viaticum, and kneeling down to the edification of all the people and many persons there present, I gave him the Holy Viaticum with the same ceremonies that are prescribed by the Roman and seraphic ritual, and when the ceremony had begun, the said Father who was kneeling intoned in his sonorous voice, as if he had no illness whatsoever, the verse *Tantum ergo Sacramentum* etc., moving us to such an extent that we could not join him. With that fervent devotion he received the Sacrament, and remaining in the same posture he gave thanks to the Lord and returned to the privacy of his cell. During the night he requested Extreme Unction, reciting with us the penitential psalms and litanies. The rest of the night he passed in giving thanks to God, at times kneeling and at other times sitting on the floor without taking to his bed, and always dressed in a habit and cloak. Towards dawn he requested me to apply the complete forgiveness, for which he knelt to confess, making anew his original confession. On the morning of the 28th the Captain of the vessel, Don Joseph Canizares and the Father Chaplain came to visit him, and he received them sitting, thanked them for their call, giving the Father Chaplain a tight embrace and said to both: "Thank God! that after covering so much ground you have come to throw a little earth over me." After a short while he said that he had been seized with some fear and wished me to read aloud to him the prayers for the dying. I did so and when these were finished, he responded as if he were well, exclaiming with great joy: "Thank God! I am no longer afraid, there is nothing to worry about, I feel better; now I shall take a little broth." In order to do so he went out and sat at the table, and having taken it he wished to rest, and lying down without removing anything except the cloak, he rested in the Lord, then without the least indication he delivered his Soul to the Creator shortly before four o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th, the Feast of Saint Augustin; 9th for the Church.

On hearing the tolling of the bells all the people were moved, the Indians

mourning the death of their beloved father as also all the white people, the landsmen as well as the seamen, begging for some token or garment from those worn by the deceased father with such vehemence that in the church they removed some pieces of the habit in which he died, and in that very same, without changing it or taking off the least particle, he was placed in the casket provided by the same deceased father who without our knowledge had sent for the carpenter of the Presidio so that he might make him a coffin in which to bury his remains. I promised them that if they restrained themselves I would give them a tunic of the deceased father so that they might make scapularies, which they did; nevertheless, those who kept the death watch with his body in the church cut off some locks of his tonsure; all moved by the fact that they all considered him the perfect Religious and exemplar, at whose funeral all the landsmen and the seamen were present all doing their best to honor the deceased father. The Captain of the vessel gave him the honors of a general with a salute from its guns, and the Presidio did him the same honors in turn, and they did the same thing on the 4th of September, when he was honored by a vigil and a sung mass, with the same attendance of people and with one more priest, who was the Reverend Father Fr. Antonio Paterna, Minister of Mission San Luis, who was unable to arrive in time for the funeral, and succeeded in being present at the mass of honor. So that the above may be on record I sign it at this said Mission the 5th of September of the year 1784.

Fr. Francisco Palou




"WORKING IN CALIFORNIA"

"Upon arrival in this privileged land all workers seize their tools and dig like mad; here rocks raised by the pick uncover golden ingots; there the revealed mineral sparkles or is massed; and each day like efforts produce like results, and every day the strong box's golden store increases."

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA 1843-1856

THE MOERENHOUT DOCUMENTS

Edited by Abraham P. Nasatir

DOCUMENT XVI (CONTINUED)

July 16th, 1848

Before we started out this morning, I measured the oak under which we had slept. At five feet above the ground it was seven to eight feet through, since its circumference was twenty-three to twenty-four feet. Its trunk was no less than fifty feet high and perfectly sound. Several other oaks in the vicinity seemed quite as enormous.

We were now in the gold-bearing district, for some had been taken out a league from the mill,¹¹ and in such quantity that one person, with ordinary labor, might make a dollar an hour. There was even some at the mill itself, but in less quantity. Nor is this river the most southerly spot where it is found, for I had extracted some myself from the sands of the Arroyo Seco, and according to what I learned at the mill, the Indians called Moquelemes and who live on the river of that name come here to sell gold taken from the sands of that river and the nearby streams.

But we were still twelve or fourteen leagues from the place where we intended to go, called by the Americans Dry Diggings,¹² *exploitations sèches*, on account of the lack of water. It was from there particularly that gold was being taken at this time. The road that leads there first follows the north bank of the river for about a league. At that point it turns again in an east-northeasterly direction, leaving the valley. For although the road was still excellent and apparently level, it wound among hills and gradually ascended. For five or six leagues the country is bare and appears arid—vertical strata of slate rock, a thin reddish soil and sparse bushes and scrub oak—but on approaching the *Sierra Nevada*, the hills and the whole country become more wooded and more beautiful. The earth is covered with verdure, the large trees become more frequent and more varied and all changes in nature and appearance.

At every stopping place where there was water I had tests made, and everywhere that we took earth from the ravines we found gold. In one little valley two leagues from the present diggings we found so much of it that my companions were tempted to stay there.

At about eight leagues to the east-northeast of the mill the country is

thickly wooded and it grows more beautiful as one goes on toward the east. There is a chain of little hills through which the road winds, always fine and easy to travel. The pine trees increase in number with the advance and ascent, and all the hills are covered with them. But there, too, all the country had been burned over, and except in a few spots the grass had been destroyed by fire.

Before reaching the place that was then being worked, we had to go over a rather high and steep hill, the only part of the route that was at all difficult. After descending it on the north-northeast side, we found ourselves in a pretty little valley where we saw tents, wagons, horses, oxen, and soon a multitude of men at work, some digging in the ravines between the many hills, others carting or washing the dirt. The hustle and bustle was like that of a great city.

As I wanted to go where some Frenchmen, Messrs. Cambuston, Roussillon, Sainsevain¹³ and others had located, we had to traverse the whole length of the valley, about a league. By the time we arrived it was night. This was what one might call the French Camp, where several of my compatriots besides those I have named were gathered. The place was well chosen, a little stream of excellent clear water, but with their usual negligence there was not a tent, nor an *enramada*,¹⁴ and though they gave me a hearty welcome and, considering where we were, a good supper, I had again, as during all my journey from San José, to sleep on the earth and to have the stars for bed canopy.

July 17th

At daybreak all was astir. Men were leaving on foot and on horseback, loaded with pickaxes, picks and shovels, some going to loosen and dig out the dirt, others to cart it. Hardly a soul remained in camp. My traveling companions, likewise impatient to begin work, came to ask if I would lend them the pack horses to carry the dirt which must be brought from three or four miles away. I promised them the horses for three or four days and they set out immediately after some dirt.

Too tired last night to talk or get information of the present state of the gold country, it was only this morning that I learned the extreme richness of the place where I was, and at the same time the present difficulty of extracting the gold by means of washing, on account of the lack of water. This district, between the American and the Cosumnes rivers, was discovered at the beginning or toward the middle of June. The discoverers, still having water nearby, easily made two to three hundred dollars a day there. Often they gathered up only the large pieces and used no other tools than a crowbar and a knife. But the Indians having told those who were working on the American River, eight hundred to a thousand people came here in less than a week, and soon partially exhausted the richest ravines that seemed the true

original deposits of the gold, since it was found there only in good sized pieces and grains. As the water began to go down at about the same time, from the first to the tenth of July, the usual day's product soon became instead of ten to twenty ounces, only five or six. And now that there is almost no water, and the dirt is carried three or four leagues and even farther, it is not more than from two to four ounces.

Looking over the place where I found myself this morning, I saw that it was a little valley (*vallon*) formed on the one side by a sheer and rather high mountain, and on the other by some pretty hills which, like the mountain, were covered with handsome pines, cypresses, &c. At the foot of the mountain ran a stream, small but of fine clear water. As dirt was continually being brought from a league or more around and washed in it, however, it was almost filled up and the water was muddied.

The method of washing the dirt most generally adopted here is by means of a *maquina*, dirt-washing machine, for besides the *bateas* or wooden dishes before mentioned, an extremely simple machine has been invented¹⁵ which, worked by four men not including those who pick, shovel and transport the dirt, is capable of washing two tons per day.

The *bateas* are, as I have said, simply *sebillas* or wooden dishes (*plats*) of 12, 14 and as much as 16 inches in diameter, hollowed out but shallow and perfectly smooth inside. These dishes are filled two-thirds full of dirt, which is first well washed and stirred, holding the dish under water in order to dissolve the earth and separate it from the gold and the stones. Then the washing is continued, constantly dipping or pouring in water and giving the dish a motion which, throwing the water from the bottom or back of the dish toward the front, carries with it the earth, the stones and all the parts lighter than the gold. After this operation, which requires both patience and care, the gold remains in the bottom or back of the dish, which is always kept somewhat tilted. It is found there with a sort of black sand, which here, as by the rivers, seems like the residue of the gold-bearing soils, and probably is composed, as I have said, simply of oxidized iron and grains of ruby. This sand, which is very heavy, is difficult to separate from the gold. The method here employed, is to dry it together with the gold over a fire and then to separate them by tossing them in a plate or dish and blowing on it. But by this crude method a considerable amount of gold is lost, for all the lightest flakes blow away with the sand. As for the *maquinas* (machines), these are wooden troughs or boxes that have exactly the form of a dugout canoe, but open at one end. This trough or dugout is 12 or 14 feet long and inside it pieces of wood or ribs are nailed or fastened, running across it at intervals of a foot or 15 inches, exactly like the ribs of a boat. They serve to stop the gold or to prevent its being carried off by the water with the earth and the stones.

On top, at the front of the machine, is affixed another box which is about

two feet long, of the same width as the machine, and fits on it. At the bottom of this box is an iron grate or simply a sheet of copper, tin plate or iron [perforated] with holes from half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter. It is in this box that the dirt and water are thrown, and the stones being retained by the grate or sort of sieve at the bottom, only the earth and the gold fall into the main [part of the] machine. The dirt in the upper box is constantly stirred while water is poured in to dissolve it and to detach it from the rocks. The latter are thrown out as they are washed clean and begin to obstruct [the operation].

To make the water and the sand flow through the machine itself, it is inclined slightly. As it is supported at the ends by two pieces of wood three or four inches thick and curved in the form of a crescent, which permit of rocking it like a cradle, the water flowing through the machine is thus given another semicircular motion, that forcibly stirs up the earth and the stones that are mixed in it, particularly between the ribs, and forces them toward the open end. The rocking of the water back and forth makes this method of washing the dirt easier and much faster. The gold stops at the first, second and third ribs. It rarely goes farther. Nevertheless care must be taken to stir up the earth in the bottom of the machine from time to time, for despite the double motion given the water, the clayey soil in which the gold is found is so sticky that it adheres to the bottom of the machine, covers up its ribs and would soon form a smooth surface over which both water and earth would flow.

As I have already said, it takes four men to work this machine, one to throw in the dirt, another to pour in water, a third to move or rock it and a fourth to stir the dirt on the grate, scrape it from the bottom of the machine, throw out rocks, etc. But for the complete operation of one of these machines, that is to say, to dig the dirt, to sort it more or less, to cart it, wash it, etc., at least eight to ten men are needed, depending upon the nature of the ground from which it is taken, the distance and the difficulties of transportation. But one of these machines, well supplied with dirt and constantly in motion, can wash a ton of dirt in three or four hours, and a ton of dirt is estimated always to yield from 16 to 25 and up to 30 ounces of gold. At present, however, there is nowhere in this district sufficient water to keep a machine going for more than four to six hours per day and the average daily earnings now, even of those who work with machines, are reckoned as only three or four ounces.

After having examined this place and the mechanism, so simple and so efficacious, that was being used to wash gold-bearing earth, I went on foot to see the ground from which the gold was being taken. It was not later than six or six-thirty o'clock in the morning when I set out, and already I met several men who were returning with dirt which they were carrying on their horses in *alforgas* or large leather pouches or sacks hanging on either side of the saddle while the driver is mounted behind.

To reach the place that was being worked, or from which the dirt was being taken at this time, it was necessary again to go through the pretty valley that we had traversed on our arrival. Examining it more carefully, I found that it was only about one mile in width by about four in length. Quite a sizeable stream flows through the middle, but at this time there was water in it only here and there and in small quantity. In some spots on either side of the stream are groups of superb oaks. There the merchants had set up their tents and their shops, and as the valley itself is formed by low hills covered by cypresses and pines of different kinds, either isolated or in groups, but never in the profusion of a forest, the view that strikes the eye on entering this little valley is truly a pretty one. It was still the center of the richest diggings and the principal route of those who were going and coming from work, carrying dirt, etc., and there was such movement and confusion of people that one might have thought himself at a village festival or fair in Europe.

As I went in through the valley, I noticed that the little ravines between the hills had been dug up from top to bottom and had been abandoned. I also noticed that the mining was done only in these ravines, and only in the very center of them, for the ditch or space that had been dug out was nowhere more than three or four feet wide and in depth varying from two to three feet, depending upon where the bed-rock was reached. When I examined the rocks and the soil of these ravines I found that they were, in part, the same as those over which we had traveled for more than eight leagues to the west, that is to say, a reddish soil about a foot and a half or two feet deep on the surface, and underneath a clayey rock, split by more or less narrow cracks, decomposed near the surface and brittle to the depth of two or three feet, but below that hard and compact.

At about a league from our camp and two-thirds of the way through the valley, I finally came upon the first workers. The places where they were digging were three little ravines* that separate the three hills and come together toward the bottom in the form of a stream. The workmen were swarming there like so many ants. Those who were digging the dirt used various implements, but mostly pickaxes and picks. I noticed that the first and most difficult labor was to dig out and throw aside some large individual rocks that were in the gulch. After that the next and most considerable work was to take out the stones, etc., for a distance of a foot to a foot and a half from the little canal worn out by the water, and to dig a ditch a foot

*I use the word ravine (*ravin*) because these interstices or little canals between the hills were worn out by the waters in the heavy rains, but they are not, however, what the word ravine seems to indicate, places deeply hollowed out by the streams and torrents. The hills here being low and gently sloping, the passage of the water is barely evident in the hollows between them, and it is rarely that one sees a canal more than three feet wide by six inches to a foot in depth. (Moerenhout's note.)¹⁶

or two wide. The red dirt or surface soil is also thrown aside, although there near the gulches it always contains a little gold. Immediately under this soil is found a grayish, ashen, clayey dirt. This is the true gold-bearing dirt. Still deeper, at a foot and a half or two feet, it is found in the form of slate, foliated but very brittle, and the gathered fragments of which will dissolve in water. This work is continued to the depth of about three feet, where the hard and compact stone affords no more cracks or fissures into which the gold might have entered or crept.

Here as in the places that I had visited before, and where the work had been abandoned, the mining was limited to digging in the beds of the ravines and for a foot or two on either side, although the gold is found distributed to a much greater width, toward the hills. Of this I saw proof right here, where several of the miners, equipped only with their knives and little iron bars, do not wash the dirt at all, but simply gather the visible grains and pieces that they find, especially on the sides of the gulches or below the hill-sides (*sous les routes des collines*). All those (and there were quite a number of them) who occupied themselves with this manner of working these deposits, assured me that this method, which requires a little practice and much patience, is nevertheless nearly always the most profitable; that it was there that the largest pieces of gold were found, which the water had not been able to carry down into the gulch; that it was found in stratified deposits (*veines*) that they followed under the hillsides until slides prevented them from continuing the work.

Being present when an American, who had no other tool than his knife, found a rather large piece, I proposed that he sell it to me, to which he immediately agreed. I had neither scales nor money, but he told me to take it with me, to weigh it and send him whatever it came to.

The work of digging, removing, loading and transporting the dirt is truly painful, especially between nine or ten o'clock in the morning and three o'clock in the afternoon, for the heat is intense. That notwithstanding, wherever I went, from hill to hill, I found a multitude of people at work. In some places, famous for their richness, like the first I had visited, the miners were in such crowds that they could hardly move about. The abundance of gold there was something marvelous, and in fact, although the gold is scattered so profusely everywhere for several leagues around, there are nevertheless some places much richer than others, and when one of these *bonanzas*, as they are called here, is found, everyone rushes in, for there one day, one hour, sometimes suffices to make a small fortune.

I am told the most extraordinary things in this regard. A man with whom I was talking this morning, the same one [James W. Marshall] who undertook the construction of a mill on the American River for M. Sutter and who first discovered that this river bore gold, and was the cause of all the discoveries that have been made since then, assured me that in the month of

June, at the place where we then were, he had gathered up more than six pounds of gold in less than an hour. But such cases are extremely rare and these places are promptly exhausted.* Of one thing, however, I could be sure, and that was that in the whole district that is called Dry Diggings, the average daily yield per man was still at least three or four ounces.

Toward eleven o'clock and noon the heat became excessive and I began to regret having come on foot. Fortunately, at the end of one of these gulches, I found the men with whom I had come, and as my Indian servant was with them I sent him for my horse. The first day of this sort of work seemed very hard to my traveling companions. They were all bathed in sweat. M. Labourdère said that it was a nigger's work. The others on the contrary seemed quite pleased, showed me several pieces of gold that they had gathered, and swore that they would not leave these parts before they had two or three thousand dollars each.

While resting there in the shade of a fine tree (for these are everywhere to be found as soon as one goes up the hill a bit) I had occasion to see the dry washing of gold (*de voir extraire l'or à sec*). Those who were doing this work were inhabitants of Sonora, a province of Mexico. Having adopted their country's method of extracting the gold, or separating it from the dirt and stones, they had the advantage of being able to work at the same place where the metal is found. The operation is simple but requires practice.

After having assembled or amassed the dirt and all the fragile parts of the clayey rock, which they carefully break and pulverize, they put it in the sun to dry. When it is quite dry and somewhat reduced to dust, they toss it in a sort of winnowing basket (*van*) to separate the little stones from it and to let the dust blow out. But not being able to clean it thoroughly by this method, they let the gold and the dirt fall from this basket which they shake above their heads, onto a cloth spread out on the ground. The dust, especially if there is a breeze, blows away, and according to them the gold, even to the tiniest particles, falls perpendicularly to their feet on the cloth. The principal thing that this method of extracting gold requires is to dry the dirt well, and the only difficulty about it is to separate the little stones from the gold. These men complained, however, that the dust was bad for them and feared that they might not be able to continue the work. As it is, their method would otherwise be easy and profitable, for they assured me that they had made six or seven ounces apiece per day since they had been there.

In talking with them about the placers of Sonora, they assured me that they were not comparable to these and although there were also *bonansas*

*The one who sold me the piece of gold, called *El Posero* [*Pocero*, The Well-Digger], returned to Monterey in August with 25 pounds of gold, after an absence of six weeks. He was alone with an Indian, and they regularly gathered ten ounces a day, or five ounces apiece. (Moerenhout's note.)

there, from which great quantities of gold were taken, which often enriched the miners, the average day's earnings in the best places were but two to three dollars.

My servant having arrived with my horse, I returned to our little camp where I was awaited for dinner, a meal to which I did the better justice as it was three o'clock and I had not breakfasted.

So far as meat goes, food was quite plentiful at the placer; a M. Lee [Jacob P. Leese?] of Sonoma had brought in five hundred steers that he sold to the whites for twenty-five dollars apiece and to the Indians for one or two hundred. Several were killed each day. But despite this rather moderate price of meat, a dinner is enormously costly at the placer. Some pay a cook as much as thirty dollars a day, and the wine that we drank, though quite ordinary, sold for eight dollars a bottle. Following are the prices of the most necessary foods, the only ones, indeed, that can be had here:¹⁷

Fresh or dried meat	\$.12½ the pound
Flour per Spanish bu., 25 lbs.	25.
Sugar per lb.	2.
Rice d ^o .	1.
Tea d ^o .	5.
Biscuit per cwt.	50.
Wine and brandy per bottle	8.

All was paid for in placer gold at \$16 per ounce. Concerning the enormous prices at which everything sold here, I remarked to my companions on the difference between the Americans' way of traveling and that of the Californians and of many Frenchmen. The Americans come in carts, bringing all provisions and everything necessary for the trip or for the time that they intend to be away, have no expenses except for fresh meat, which, strictly speaking, they can do without. Some, bringing their wives and children with them, take their meals at regular hours and live almost as they would at home. The Californians and the Frenchmen, on the other hand, come on horseback, bring provisions for only a few days and eat poorly, irregularly and at random, and are obliged either to leave after a short time or to buy provisions at exorbitant prices.*

*These differences in the manner of provisioning and going to the Placer have another consequence that I had occasion to notice at the Pueblo of San José and at Monterey since my return. It is that the American, better equipped and more persevering, does not return until he has amassed quite a considerable sum, rarely less than three to four thousand dollars, whereas the Californian, obliged to return for lack of provisions or less avid or more careless of the future, comes back after a week or two with seldom more than eight to twelve hundred dollars. (Moerenhout's note.)

Wishing to know what the day's work of my neighbors in the valley had been, I found it to be divided as follows:

3 Frenchmen who came with me	7 oz. 9/16
29 Messrs. Sunol, Sainsevain, Roussillon & Amador } & 25 Indians }	130 oz.
3 Arnaud Maubé & 2 Californians	19 " 5/16
3 A German & 2 Indians	7 " 8/16
2 An Englishman & a Californian	6 "
—	—
40 persons produced	160 oz. 6/16

July 24th

In the six days past, I have visited all the environs for three or four leagues around. Everywhere gold is plentiful and wherever it is dug the average day's product is at least three or four ounces. The places where gold is found, and of which only a small part is being worked now, are two valleys or the lands situated between three lesser chains that descend from the first ranges of the *Sierra Nevada* Mountains and run, as nearly as I can judge by the compass, nearly east and west. Neither of these valleys is more than three to four leagues in width and their length, judged by the eye, must be from eight to ten leagues at least. Now while I call the intervals between these mountain chains, valleys, I do not mean by that plains or a continuous stretch of level land, for on the contrary these intervals are filled with innumerable hills which, detached from these same mountain chains, run in all directions and form little valleys everywhere, like the one that I have described above. It is these hills and their thousands of gulches that are the true gold-bearing lands, where this metal is found in the greatest abundance, but in grains and pieces. It would seem that these are the veritable deposits from which the finer gold is carried by the waters and scattered far in the streams and rivers.

As I traveled about this country I became convinced that not the thousandth nor perhaps the millionth part of the [gold-bearing] lands is either known or touched, and that despite the fact that some of these gulches have been abandoned, none of the mines is exhausted. Taking dirt at random in the gulches that had been most worked and for a long time abandoned, not only did I find gold there, but I found it in a proportion almost equal to those of the most talked of present diggings. I therefore think that this country is hardly known at all and has hardly been scratched, that there are riches there for many years to come, and that next year after the rains the places or gulches now supposed to be exhausted will be, if not the richest, at least the most productive; for the waters washing these lands already worked

over will leave the gold bare on the bed-rock or will throw it together in the hollows and holes of the ditches that [the miners] have dug.

Another thing of which I am sure is that the principal deposit of gold is not limited to the small gulches between the many hills; for besides the remarks in this regard made by the Americans and mentioned above, I made some experiments myself, which proved to me that the hills also all contain gold toward their bases, near the gulches. In several tests made with earth taken at a depth of two feet and at ten and fifteen feet from the gulches, I found more or less of gold everywhere. In six trials made with earth taken at the same depth but at one hundred and one hundred and fifty feet from the gulches and half way up the hills, I found gold in two places. It appears certain, therefore, that it is the hills themselves that are, if not the principal, at least the original depository and the source from whence all the gold has come; from whence, carried by the waters, it is deposited in the gulches between the hills, in the streams of the valleys, and in the rivers of the distant plains.*

In an excursion that I made accompanied by three Californians who were going to a village or *rancheria* of Indians whom they wished to hire, I had an opportunity of seeing this beautiful country for many leagues to the east towards the *Sierra Nevada*. The farther one goes in this direction the more wooded it becomes, and the more beautiful trees there are, especially pines, cypresses and other coniferous trees. It was then that I observed that the valleys where the principal diggings had been located were formed by mountain chains that extended for a great distance and seemed to break off from the first ranges of the high *Sierra Nevada* Mountains. In many places we made hasty assays of the dirt in the gulches, and everywhere we found gold. It was then, looking upon these thousands of hills and the gulches between them, upon these many streams in the little valleys, streams that bear gold in flakes and in larger quantities, places still virgin and untouched; it was then I say, that I became convinced that these riches, scarcely touched, will neither be exhausted in a few years nor even in centuries.

July 25th

Having finished my observations in this district and having taken [samples of] the gold-bearing dirt, of the rocks and of the crystallizations, and having succeeded in purchasing the largest piece of gold found up to that

*I do not believe, however, that the gold that is found in the American River comes from the hills of the Dry Diggings. It must come from the hills and lands nearer to the [American River] diggings, for it is probable that there also the gulches of the hills and the nearby hills themselves contain it, but up to the present time, no search has been made. Everyone goes to the richest places that are already known and all the rest is neglected. (Moerenhout's note.)

time in this district,* I took advantage of the company of some people who were starting for the mill at the American Fork, to go and examine that gold-bearing region. I took with me only my Indian servant, for those who had accompanied me from the Pueblo wished to stay where they were. They were able to repay all that I had advanced for them, and I sold them one of the pack-horses for what it had cost me, the other one having been stolen. All of them were doing well, and all except the Californians spoke of staying until winter set in.

It was a distance of about five leagues from there to the place on the American Fork where a mill had been built [Sutter's mill at Coloma]. For two or three leagues the country is about the same as at the Dry Diggings, well wooded and with easy roads between the hills. Near the river it becomes more barren and more sterile in appearance.

Toward noon we arrived at the first diggings, but there were not here the multitude and the confusion of the places that I had just left. Here the miners were working at considerable distances from each other and there were not more than 250 to 300 people on the whole extent of the river.

The gold found here is taken principally from the banks on the sides of the river, where it is held in the clayey soil and caught in the crevices and fissures of the rocks. It is found also and perhaps in greater abundance in the soil carried down by the river and deposited on the turns, in the bends, on the little islands and other places that have been left dry. From one of these islands, only about an acre in size, called The Mormons' Diggings,¹⁸ *les exploitations des Mormons*, and situated some distance below the mill, more than a hundred thousand dollars in gold has been taken out in a month, and this deposit is not yet exhausted. Here also the gold is found at a depth of only two or three feet. Below is granite, which is the base of this region and forms the bed of the river. The gold here is in flakes that diminish in quantity and size in proportion as one descends the river. It is extracted by means of the machines described above, and as the earth is taken from right beside or near the water, the work of washing is less difficult, but it is also less productive than at "Dry Diggings," for the daily yield here is scarcely more than one or one and a half ounces per man.

Here no more than there is the gold confined to the earth carried by the rivers, for it has been found in grains and pieces in many gulches between the hills, but above the places where the washing is done and in spots that are difficult of access and too far from the river to permit of carrying the dirt there.

*This piece weighed only about four and a half ounces. I bought it for four and seven-sixteenths ounces. I have since been told of a piece weighing seven ounces, one of two pounds six ounces, and one of four pounds weight, but despite my efforts, I was unable to find the persons who had them. (Moerenhout's note.)

The place where the mill was built has become celebrated as the origin and cause of the famous discovery of the placers in the northern part of this country. Towards the middle of 1847, M. Sutter, a Swiss by nationality and the proprietor of New Helvetia, whose spirit of enterprise has so often been useful and has caused so many changes and improvements in this section of Upper California, had started the erection of a sawmill on the south branch of the American Fork, where beside the facility that the river offers, there are magnificent forests a short distance to the east and to the south. Having dug a ditch by which the water was to be brought to the mill, they made a trial of it in the month of February, last, but finding that it was not deep enough, they stopped the water in order to deepen it, and it was in recommending this operation that the workmen discovered that the water had deposited there a certain metal, which M. Sutter had tested and which they found to be gold of an excellent quality.¹⁹

Without suspecting the great result that this first discovery was going to have and believing that the earth carried by the river to this place was the only gold-bearing soil in this region, M. Sutter solicited of the Governor at Monterey the right to exploit it for his own account. But before he received the negative answer, the news of this discovery had spread,²⁰ and many Americans, without so much as giving notice to M. Sutter, began mining there, and other discoveries were made. The Mormons discovered the small island previously mentioned and began their mining towards the end of April. The rivers Bear (*des ours*), Uvas (Yuba of the Americans) and Plumas (*des plumes*) [Feather] were explored and gold was found everywhere. In May or June an Irishman, crossing from the American Fork to the Cosumnes discovered the famous region now known as *Dry Diggings*, where gold exists in such profusion and abundance that all those who went there in the beginning while there was still enough water in the streams for washing the dirt [returned with small fortunes]²¹ obtained in a few weeks and often in a few days.*

July 26th

Very early this morning I started for Bear River (*el Arroyo de los Osos, le ruisseau ou rivière des ours*) accompanied only by my Indian servant. The road was quite well defined and like all those of this region went through valleys between the hills. As we approached the river the country again became very wooded. It is supposed that there is gold in these hills too, but having no *batea* and not daring to stop in an unfamiliar country where it would be necessary to go in search of water, I was unable to make any experiments or

* M. Vallejo at Sonoma assured me of having weighed four thousand dollars in gold which an inhabitant of that place had obtained in three days of work. (Moerenhout's note.)

assays. When we reached the stream I found that it is very low at this season, and at the place where I crossed, near the farm of a M. Jonsson [William Johnson], it was nearly dry. Seeing no workmen there²² I was prompted to go on.

The country between the Bear and the Yuba (*Uvas*) rivers is more beautiful than that between the latter and the American River. Despite the great ravages of fire there, many valleys were of charming aspect, but had the road not been so well defined I should certainly have been lost in the midst of the wooded hills that were absolutely alike. It was four o'clock in the afternoon when I arrived at the [Yuba] river. The road had led me to a place where there was a multitude of men at work, all Americans or foreigners and Indians.²³

After a half-hour's rest in the tent of those who had offered me hospitality, I remounted my horse to look over the banks of the river, which are quite pretty, and to visit some of the places that were being mined. I saw that the work here was just the same as on the American River, that the gold was of the same quality, occurred in the same way and gave the same or nearly the same production, for the average day's earnings were likewise from an ounce to an ounce and a half.

July 27th

Early this morning I started for the Feather River (*rivière des plumes*). The distance is but eight leagues, and I arrived at the place where the principal washings (*lavages*) have been established,²⁴ before ten o'clock. There were not many people and almost all the workmen were Indians, for these mining operations are principally directed by Americans who, having farms in the vicinity, can easily obtain Indians. The manner of extracting the gold and these washings or diggings were absolutely the same as on the other rivers. The gold is found in the earth brought down by the water but principally near the eddies. On the turns and in the bends much was found, also on the sides of the banks in the places where the slope is gradual and the waters deposit soil. It is also taken from the fissures of the rocks, and a few days before my arrival an American had taken more than a pound of gold from a crack in a rock on the bank of the stream at an elevation of several feet above the water, which seems to prove that a large part of the gold that is found in these rivers, and probably all of it, does not come from high up the streams, but from the hills and lands along the sides.* Another thing occurred here to confirm my opinion on this point. Two pieces of gold were brought to me, one of a little more than half an ounce and the other of an

*All here assured me that one or two leagues above to the east, toward the source of the river, no gold is found. It seems also that fifteen miles farther down it becomes more scarce and finer, and the whole length of the diggings is not twenty miles. (Moerenhout's note.)

ounce in weight. Both had been found at some distance from the river, on some bluffs and more than sixty feet above the water.† Another individual had taken nearly three ounces of gold in grains and pieces, just like the gold of the Dry Diggings, out of a gulch three leagues from the river. The earth here, as all along the edge of the *Sierra Nevada* is a reddish clayey soil on top and grayish or ashen below, and altogether quite shallow in the hills.

July 28th

Beginning to feel the effect of these journeys in a season when the heat is excessive, and convinced that these diggings and the gold that they produce were everywhere the same, I determined to go no farther. As I was in some fear of getting lost or of meeting with serious difficulties should I attempt to follow down along the Feather River to the Sacramento, I decided to go back by the Mill road and to follow the American River to New Helvetia. So I set out at daybreak this morning on the Mill road.

Impatient now to end my trip and to return to Monterey, I tried to make haste and stopped no more to observe the country or to examine the soil, but our horses, already very tired, were suffering so from the heat that despite my impatience I judged it prudent to stop and let the worst heat of the day pass. At the place where we rested there were water and grass, it was shady and quite delightful, but it was a wilderness. Probably there was not a human being for several leagues around, unless it were Indians, who, more redoubtable than the bears, inspired a terrible fear in the one who accompanied me.

At three o'clock we started again. By six I was at the Mill.

July 29th

Although my horses seemed very tired, I continued my journey this morning and was off long before sunrise. It is about ten or twelve leagues from the Mill to M. Sutter's fort, and I went two or three leagues farther in order to visit the Lower Diggings, *les exploitations d'embas*, situated six leagues from the Sacramento and five leagues from New Helvetia. There were still some men working there. The gold seemed to me to be the same as higher up the river, perhaps a little finer, but as it is less abundant the best day's earnings here are not more than one ounce.

Before we arrived at the farm of Lydesdorph [William Alexander Leides-

†These pieces had a distinguishing characteristic, however. They were brilliant and like pebbles, almost round and as though they had been rolled. I wanted to buy them, but their possessor refused to sell them. He was one of a company of eight in number who had made sixty-three thousand dollars in forty-two days. They employed from fifty to sixty Indians. (Moerenhout's note.)

dorff], situated two or three leagues from New Helvetia, my servant's horse would carry him no farther. He had to lead him by hand, and to go afoot himself. It was late when we arrived at the farm where I found myself compelled to stop for the night.

I was now outside the limits of the gold region, for it seems no gold is found lower than three or four leagues from the Sacramento or from the mouth of the American River, and it is the same with all the other gold-bearing tributaries of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin. Although I had not been able to spend enough time to visit and examine carefully all the gold regions, I had nevertheless seen the various principal diggings from the Cosumnes to the Feather River, a distance of at least 75 to 80 miles from south to north. But while these are the present limits of the places from which gold is being taken, they are not the limits of the regions in which it is already known that gold exists.

At the Feather River I was assured that gold is found for more than 50 miles to the north in the beds of the creeks and of all the tributaries of the Sacramento. The mountains known as *Los Picos*, the [Marysville] Buttes, situated in the valley of the Sacramento at about 39° 32' north latitude, are a very rich deposit, but there is so little water that it is impossible to conduct mining there in this season. And when one reflects that the hills that cover the spaces between these rivers are everywhere the true depositories of the gold, the smallest particles of which have been carried by the waters toward the creeks* and rivers and supply all the gold that is found in these streams, and when one reflects that these discoveries are extending toward the south just as they have spread to the north, that the Indians are already bringing gold taken from the vicinity of the *San Stanislaw* [Stanislaus River], and that there is every indication that they will not stop in this direction short of the old San Fernando placer²⁵ in 34° north latitude, one is struck with astonishment, and wonders what influence such a discovery will have in this new country and even in these seas, especially on considering that, according to the most moderate estimate, it is certain that already, in less than three months, more than four million dollars worth of gold has been taken from these deposits by miners averaging 1700 in number but continually changing and being replaced by others.

*All the creeks that run through the little valleys between the Cosumnes and American rivers are filled with gold, but it is fine and in flakes as in the rivers. Not being so rich as the gulches between the hills, however, they have been neglected. It is a remarkable fact that these streams, so close to the gulches where gold is found in grains and [larger] pieces, only contain gold in flakes. This proves that the gold that is found in the gulches is too heavy to be carried very far, and that it comes from the very hills at the foot of which it is found and which are the only and true depositories of all the gold of these placers. (Moerenhout's note.)

TABLE

OF THE APPROXIMATE YIELDS OF THE VARIOUS DIGGINGS OF THE GOLD REGIONS,
FROM THE 1ST OF MAY TO THE 31ST OF JULY, 1848, IN UPPER CALIFORNIA.

Feather River, 130 miners, from June 1st to July 31st	\$ 180,000
Yuba " 160 " " " 15th " " 31st	200,000
Bear " 60 " " " 15th " " 31st	60,000
American " 350 " " May 1st " " 31st	600,000
Dry Diggings 1000 " * " June 1st " " 31st	3,000,000
1700 miners	\$4,040,000

*At the Dry Diggings there were also constantly from two to three hundred Indians working on their own account or employed by the whites. Many people think, too, that the yield of these diggings is much in excess of the figure that I have given. (Moerenhout's note.)

[To be continued]

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT XVI (CONTINUED)

11. William Daylor's mill on the Cosumnes River. See footnote 9, *supra*.

12. The miners had not yet developed the humor and imagination that produced the characteristic place names of the gold country. Dry Diggings was a descriptive title borne by a number of places, but most prominently at this time by the region about what soon became Hangtown and later the more genteel Placerville. It is undoubtedly to this place that Moerenhout refers. See Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VI, 74-75.

13. These Frenchmen were all of some prominence in California before the conquest. Henry Cambuston had been Director of Education and Public Printer, 1843-45, was imprisoned by Stockton on suspicion of spying for Castro, 1846, testified in the Limantour case, and in 1856 was committed to the Stockton Insane Asylum, where he died a few years later. See *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 46, 129. Pierre or Don Pedro Sainsevain, a native of Bordeaux, came to California in 1839. He and Charles Roussillon had a sawmill in the Santa Cruz mountains and built a schooner in 1846. Sainsevain also had a flour mill near San José. In August of 1848 he pioneered in the Southern mines and gave his name to the briefly famous Don Pedro's Bar. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1849. See *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, Vol. XII, p. 353; Bancroft, V, 705, 708-9, VI, 76.

14. A temporary shelter made of branches or brush over a wooden frame. The American miners, adopting the term, contracted it to "ramada."

15. The honor of introducing the rocker or cradle has been claimed for Isaac Humphrey, who had mined in Georgia, and for the French Canadian, Jean Baptiste Ruelle, who had worked in the placers of Mexico. Bancroft, VI, 68, 69; Hittell, John S., *Mining in the Pacific States of North America*, S. F. 1861, p. 15. Mason calls it "a rude machine known as the cradle," and gives a description similar to Moerenhout's. Mason to Adj. Gen., Aug. 17, 1848, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, p. 529.

16. The word generally used in the mining region to express the idea that Moerenhout is evidently trying to convey is *gulch*. Moerenhout's *ravin* will accordingly be so translated hereinafter, wherever the context warrants. His *travailleurs* will similarly be

rendered *miners*, when this seems appropriate, his *terre* as *dirt*, the miners' term, his *exploiter* as *to mine* or *to work*, his *exploitations* as *diggings*.

17. These prices are quoted (with one discrepancy) at p. 15 of *Les Français en Californie* by Daniel Lévy, who drew his information from Moerenhout.

18. It was on Mormon Island that the first rich strike was made. The place was visited by Governor Mason on July 5, and he describes the methods of mining employed there. Mason to Adj. Gen., Aug. 17, 1848, *op. cit. supra*.

19. Materials bearing on the discovery are collected in Bekeart, Philip B., "James Wilson Marshall," *Quarterly* of the Soc. of Calif. Pioneers, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 31-42.

20. Sometime in February Sutter sent Charles Bennett to Governor Mason at Monterey with a sample of gold, in an endeavor to secure title to the mill property at Coloma. Bancroft, VI, 43-44; Sherman, William T., *Memoirs*, N. Y. 1875, I, 40. Bennett let the news out at Benicia (Bancroft, VI, 43) and at Yerba Buena. Brown, John Henry, *Early Days of San Francisco*, S. F., 1933, pp. 70-72.

21. There seems to be an omission, perhaps by the copyist, at this point. The matter in brackets is assumed from the context.

22. Moerenhout evidently missed the famous J. Tyrwhitt Brooks and party, who according to this California Munchausen camped on Bear River and took out 115 pounds of gold by September. Brooks, J. Tyrwhitt, *Four Months Among the Gold Finders*, London, 1849, pp. 119-61. See Note 1 to Introduction, *supra*, p. 76. Bancroft (VI, 72) accepts the statement, but notes that Lieutenant Buffum had no such success there!

23. According to Bancroft the pioneers on the Yuba were Patrick McChristian, Jacob P. Leese, Jasper O'Farrell, William Leery and Samuel Norris, who left Sonoma in July and took \$75,000 from their Yuba Diggings in three months. Bancroft, VI, 72. But Dr. Lyman says that John Marsh and party left in May and went directly to the Yuba. Marsh came out with \$40,000. Lyman, George D., *John Marsh, Pioneer*, N. Y., 1931. Moerenhout was presumably in the vicinity of "Marsh's Diggings," later known as Parks Bar.

24. Probably Bidwell's Bar.

25. See "Prologue to the Gold Rush" and footnote 8 thereto, *supra*, pp. 58, 77.

CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA IN 1848

A LETTER TO "THE FRIEND," HONOLULU,
FROM CHESTER SMITH LYMAN

CHESTER SMITH LYMAN, who had left New York in the ship *Mariposa*, October 1, 1845, for the Hawaiian Islands, landed in San Francisco in July, 1847. His presence in California for the next three years gave him an opportunity to record first-hand impressions of the Gold Rush and the incidents arising from the world wide influx of prospective miners of the precious metal.

In 1924, Yale University published a volume of Lyman's contemporary diaries and notes¹ which, beside including the events of his voyage and his stay in the Islands, is one of the fullest of eye-witness accounts of what transpired in California from 1847 to 1850, where Lyman was then engaged first as a surveyor and later as a gold miner. After his return to New Haven he prepared the scientific definitions for Webster's Dictionary, and from 1859 onward was a member of the Yale faculty for thirty-two years, first as Professor of Industrial Mechanics and Physics in the Sheffield Scientific School and later as Professor of Physics and Astronomy. At the time of his death in 1890 he was a director in the Yale Observatory of which he had been one of the founders.

The letter reproduced here was written by Lyman in September or October, 1848, and was published in *The Friend* at Honolulu, November 1, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 11. The editor of *The Friend* gave it a heading of "California—Gold Mines, etc." and stated in a note of introduction that the writer of the letter [Chester Smith Lyman], which had been received "per the Mary Frances," had traveled over the country, visited the mines, and was well acquainted with the progress of affairs in the country for the last eighteen months. The statements of Lyman, he tells his readers, may be relied upon for accuracy, thus giving a correct view of California matters concerning which there have been endless rumors and reports.

"The moral condition of the country was bad enough before the gold discoveries—it is now in a state of perfect chaos, and what it will be is known only to Omniscience—though the slightest touch of sagacity will enable any one to see that the gold mines are destined to make matters worse rather than better. The whole attention of the population for the last six months has been occupied with gold. There are no schools nor any prospect of any for the present. The inhabitants are unsettled—many families will winter at the mines—a wretched place it will be for quarters at that

season—and it will be a long time before anything like a settled state of society is known here. Men will only engage in agriculture and the mechanic arts when they find these more profitable on the whole than gold digging—and gold digging at the present time yields a pretty sure income of \$10 to \$20 per day with the chance of making from \$100 to \$500 in the same time as is not unfrequently done. At least 6000 people are already engaged in digging, and the number is daily increasing, but the extent of the gold region is increasing equally fast. Active operations now extend over a tract of country 200 miles in length, and varying from 10 to 40 miles in width, lying midway between the base and the summit of the range of the Sierra Nevada, or Snowy Mountains. As a moderate computation, sixty or seventy thousand dollars are pocketed daily, and from two to four millions of dollars have been probably drawn from this bank since it commenced specie payment six months ago.

“My own business of surveying, like all others, was knocked in the head last spring, and I was left to suck my thumbs for a livelihood, or go with the multitude. So in sheer self-defense, I was obliged to turn ‘digger’ myself. A small pinch of the virgin metal I send you as a sample of my diggings. You will see that it is in water-worn lumps like pebbles, almost every piece of it giving evidence that it has lost its original size and form from long attrition through the agency of water. It occurs in every variety of magnitude from almost invisible dust and little flattened scales like flaxseed up to lumps of the size I send you, and in many parts of the mines to pieces as large as pigeons’ and pullets’ eggs, though the larger pieces are usually more or less intermixed with quartz, which was the original gauge or vein-stone through which the gold was interspersed.

“I found digging gold by no means the enchanting employment many might dream it to be; but a matter-of-fact, back-aching, wearisome work—most nearly resembling, for all the world, the heavy toil of a multitude of Paddies excavating a canal, or mill-race. The climate of the gold region from April to October is dry, with a cloudless atmosphere and cool nights—the middle of the day being warm, especially at the diggings nearest the plain. While at the mines, I was of course obliged to turn mountaineer—sleep under the blue canopy, or, part of the time, in a tent, and take care of my domestic concerns as best I could. Life in the mountains, with plenty to eat, and a good appetite, produced by hard work for sauce, is not so repulsive a thing as one, only accustomed to indoor existence, might suppose. For variety’s sake it will do for a time; but for my part, gold-digging is a business I do not fancy, although it pays pretty well, and you are sure of getting your pay in hand the moment the work is done. Still, I would rather be at my old business with one-third the profits of this. I have been absent from the mines now five or six weeks, to avoid the more sickly season, though I left Mr. D[ouglass] on the ground. He designed to winter

among the gold. I expect to return next week to spend a month, perhaps, for want of anything to do here. I have surveying enough on hand, but chain-men cannot be hired short of five dollars a day, which would make the business unprofitable to me unless I charged enormously for the work. But enough of gold. . . .

"There is much sickness, chiefly in the vicinity of the Tulae marshes at Sutters, and in the vallies of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, into which the streams empty on the upper waters of which the gold is found.

"From the papers and the friends who have come over, I learn that the gold fever is making quite a stir in King Kamehameha's little realm. Scores are already here and more, I am told, are coming. Some who recently went up the Sacramento River came back a week afterwards well stored with fever-and-ague, if not with gold. Many who came will make money, doubtless, but some will make themselves sick, and, perhaps, make themselves poorer than ever—if they do not make shipwreck of good morals, and die, like some already, as the fool dieth, in revelling and drunkenness. If any man is doing a tolerable business at the islands, let him stick to it. He will, ten chances to one, be better off in the end. If he can get more gold here, he will have to fork over more gold also for the means of subsistence. At the mines I have seen sugar, coffee, butter, hams, potatoes, and other articles selling at one dollar a pound; molasses, \$6 per gallon; flour, 30 to 40 cents per pound; beef, 25 cents, often twice that; common woollen blankets sell for 50 to 100 dollars—among the Indians higher still—other articles of clothing three or four times their ordinary prices. Goods of all sorts are high. Real estate in San Francisco has risen greatly. A lot which a year ago cost \$400, and a year before that, \$15, was sold a few days ago for \$10,000, though only 50 yards square and entirely unoccupied. What this state of things is coming to, who can tell? With such chaotic materials how shall order rise out of confusion? To look forward to the state of the country a few years hence, is enough to make one tremble, unless the Lord in His wise providence shall, through the agency of His visible church, cause the seeds of righteousness, and of all that is lovely and of good report, to be planted here before the thorns and briars of evil shall have attained to choking strength and maturity. Churches and schools are wanted. A seaman's chaplain or a home missionary should be located at San Francisco at once. But I must close."

A LETTER TO THE "NEW HAVEN JOURNAL"

"We are able," says the editor of the *New Haven Journal* in its issue of February 24, 1849, "through the politeness of a friend in this city, to present to our readers the following extract from a letter of a friend and college classmate now at San Francisco. The writer is the Rev. C. S. Lyman, a graduate of the class of '37, who soon after his settlement in the ministry

lost his health, and made a voyage to the Pacific. He was there when the gold mines were first discovered, and going to them he is reported to have gathered in the short space of six weeks some \$1,500 in gold.

"A letter from Mr. C. S. Lyman, dated San Francisco, Nov. 18, 1848, and received today, contains interesting observations on the grand aurora borealis of Friday, Nov. 17, 1848, (which was also seen in the United States and in Europe)—and also some information concerning the gold regions of Upper California. As to the first matter, it is enough to say here that the auroral display was brilliant at San Francisco, and that an old Californian who saw it declared it was the first time he had ever witnessed anything of the kind.

"The following extract of the letter relates to the second topic. Mr. Lyman is well known in this community as a man of science and excellent character, and his statements are entitled to great credit."

"The immense gold deposit in the Sierra Nevada has been the prominent object of thought in California the last six months, and it will be for years. I have visited several different parts of it. It is everywhere extremely rich. Its length along the Sierra has already been explored some 400 miles, and rich diggings have been actively worked. At a moderate estimate probably four or five millions of dollars at \$16 per ounce, Troy, has already been taken out since the working was first commenced about nine months ago, most of it within the last four months. As the exploration proceeds, the results become richer and richer; from four to six thousand people have probably been digging; an average day's work for the whole would hardly fall short of an ounce. Five, six and ten ounces are not uncommon days' works, and some individually have taken out two, three, four and even ten or more pounds of gold in a single day. I design at my earliest leisure to write a pretty full description of the placers, and their geological associations. Suffice it to say that the rocks of the Sierra Nevada range are primitive and metamorphic, and that the gold occurs so far as I have observed solely in one geological position, and that the stratum or drift or diluvium, which in places where the diggings have been carried on, varies from half a foot to several feet in thickness. The richest excavations have been in the bottom of dry ravines, though gold is found on the slopes, and even on the summits of the hills. Single pieces have been reported as weighing 15 and 20 pounds; but the largest I have seen is one at present in my keeping. It weighs between six and seven pounds Troy, being composed of a large proportion in bulk or quartz rock with metallic gold interspersed—the weight of the gold amounting probably to two and a half or three pounds."

* 1. *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California, 1845-1850, being a personal record kept by Chester S. Lyman, sometime Professor of Astronomy and Physics in Yale University*, edited by Frederick J. Teggart, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924. A portion of his diary had previously appeared under the title, "The Gold Rush," in the *California Historical Society Quarterly* for October, 1923, Vol. II, No. 3.

THE 1781 CAÑIZARES MAP OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY

By Douglas S. Watson

Over thirty years ago I purchased from Elder & Shepherd a copy of Palou's *Life of Junípero Serra* and inserted in it at page 202 I found a copy of a map of San Francisco Bay, of the same size as the text pages, which bore the inscription in Spanish of which the following is a translation: "Plan of the Great Port of San Francisco discovered and surveyed by the ensign, graduate of Frigate of the Royal Navy, Don José de Cañizares, first pilot of the Department of San Blas, situated on the western coast of California to the north of the equator in the Asiatic Sea in latitude North 37 degrees, 44 minutes, and engraved by Manuel Villavicencio—in the year 1781."

The amateur historian delights to find his fellows at fault. I have been guilty of this myself; in "Spurious Californiana," in a recent number of the *Quarterly*, I took occasion to call attention to slips of both Mr. Robert Ernest Cowan and Bancroft. And now I wish to draw attention to a worse mistake made by myself which has to do with this Cañizares map.

When editing William Heath Davis's "75 Years in California," which John Howell published in 1929, I selected the Cañizares map as one of the book's illustrations, labelling it with its proper title, but adding as sub-title: "From Padre Francisco Palou's *Life of Serra*." Thus I displayed my ignorance, and until Mr. Henry R. Wagner told me that this map was of the greatest rarity, that it had no place in Palou's *Life of Serra*, that possibly my copy was unique, I labored under the impression that all copies of Palou wanting this map were imperfect.

It will be remembered that José Cañizares acted as diarist to the first division of the land expedition under Portola in 1769 and that he accompanied Don Juan Manuel de Ayala in 1775 when the latter was in command of the *San Carlos* (the same vessel which with the *San Antonio* and the ill-fated *San José* formed the maritime division of the expedition to California in 1769 which resulted in permanent Spanish occupation). To Ayala fell the honor of being the first commander to sail a ship into San Francisco Bay. This was during the night of August 5, 1775.

The morning of that same day Cañizares in the launch of the *San Carlos* had effected the first entrance of the Golden Gate but was prevented from returning to his vessel, after his preliminary survey, by reason of adverse tides.

The Cañizares map takes rank with its two predecessors: The sketchy but interesting San Francisco bay map of Padre Crespi who was a member of the Fages exploring party in March 1772; and the Ayala map of 1775 of the harbor which illustrated that commander's report to the viceroy. Much of the detail of the Ayala map was derived from surveys made by Cañizares under Ayala's direction, and there is a startling similarity between it and the Cañizares map of 1781.



B. Point Reyes
C. Point Bonita
D. Lime Point
E. Richardson's Bay
F. Belvedere
H. San Pablo Bay
Y. Petaluma Creek

M. San Joaquin river
N. Sacramento river
Q. Oakland, etc.
S. Coyote Point
T. Mission Creek
(Channel Street)
V. Presidio

X. Mission Dolores
I. Fort Point
Z. Point Lobos or
Pt. of the Guardian Angel
e. Golden Gate
f. Angel Island
g. Alcatraz

BOOK REVIEWS

THE SAGA OF THE COMSTOCK LODGE. *Boom Days in Virginia City*. By George D. Lyman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. xii+399 pages. Illustrated.

Those who have read *John Marsh, Pioneer* and admired it as biography and as a thorough piece of historical research have anticipated the appearance of this book as something of an event. They will not be disappointed in the present work but they are due for a surprise, for our fellow member exposes a new facet of his scholarship and gives them something different. The first was a study of the life of an individual as he moved across six frontiers; this is a chronicle of eight short years in the history of a mountain. The times and social conditions have interested the author more than individual men, and the men themselves more than their fortunes, while the place of the mountain against the background of Pacific Coast and national affairs is not lost sight of for a moment.

Dr. Lyman quotes from Arthur McEwen, writing in the San Francisco *Examiner*, "The life of the Comstock in the old days never has been written so that those who did not share it can understand; it never can be so written, for to be like, all would have to be set down, and that is a feat beyond mortal pen," and adds, "That sentence proved a stimulus to these pages." That is the challenge he accepts,—how well he succeeds each reader must decide for himself. Be it said, however, he enters the lists valiantly, hits his stride in the first few pages, and in sixty-six short chapters, written in a staccato style that crackles and snaps, the boom days on Sun Mountain, as Mount Davidson was originally called, live again. In these pages, amid the clatter of stamps, thunder of hoists, shrieks of whistles, "Washoe zephyrs," relieved by the music of "Washoe canaries," "the boys"—and a few girls: Bill Stewart, George Hearst, "Old Virginny," Langford Peal, Eilley Orrum, Sandy Bowers, Adolph Sutro, Sam Brown, Laura Ellis, Charlie Fairfax, John Mackay, Jack O'Brien, Father Patrick Manogue, Almarin B. Paul, Joe Goodman, Lucky Baldwin, the Reverend Mr. Rising, Judge Terry, Colonel Hungerford, Julia Bulette, Rollin Daggett, Jim Fair, Sam Clemens, and forty thousand more of their kind, live at a tempo that is both furioso and fortissimo.

"The boys,"—always, "the boys," watch for the pony express to learn the result of Benicia Boy's fight with Tom Sayers, go to the Piute War, squash the secessionists, join Tom Peasley's fire brigades, some get their man before breakfast, read the *Territorial Enterprise*—laughing and shouting at the diatribes and hoaxes of Joe Goodman, Dan De Quille, and Mark Twain, welcome the territorial governor, shower with half dollars a cracked-voiced prima donna, worship at the feet of Adah Isaacs Menken, soak up the "tarantula juice," buy Reuel Gridley's sack of flour again and again for the benefit of the Sanitary Fund, give President Lincoln the necessary votes to pass the Thirteenth Amendment, and try to get Mark Twain into a duel. It is a hard book, once started, to lay aside.

By 1865, "barren borrasca had succeeded argent bonanza." The accessible deposits were exhausted, shafts had reached the limits of engineering ability to work them, and every foot of Sun Mountain was involved in litigation. Boom days were past and the mountain was deserted as quickly as it had been swarmed over in 1859. The author's narrative ends. The subtitle of the book, "*Boom Days in Virginia City*," limits the work to those days but it is to be regretted that some attention was not given to the post-bellum days of the late 'sixties and the 'seventies. The saga of the Comstock had not completely run its course by 1865.

All of which is drama of the most gripping sort, but it is also good history. The work is completely documented and bears every evidence of thorough and painstaking

research. Unfortunately, there is no index—a serious lack in a volume of such encyclopaedic content.

GEORGE L. HARDING.

FRENCH TRAVELLERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1765-1932: A Bibliography.
By Frank Monaghan. New York: New York Public Library, 1933.

All students of American history have been made indebted to Frank Monaghan of the history faculty of Yale University by his *French Travellers in the United States, 1765-1932: A Bibliography*. Originally printed in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, it has been reprinted with many additions and is sold for the small sum of one dollar, thus making it available for scholars as well as libraries.

Mr. Monaghan lists over 1800 works of Frenchmen who have traveled in the United States since 1765. He has searched far and wide for notices of French travelers and has indicated various editions. In many instances he has given us thumbnail sketches of the authors and valuable critical remarks concerning their works.

Californians are interested in this work chiefly because of the astounding number of Frenchmen who have visited California and have left printed accounts—not only books, but articles in periodicals as well. In the latter category Mr. Monaghan has not achieved one hundred per cent perfection, for, as he tells us, it is impossible to list everything, especially many items that are buried in the many periodicals, many of which are inaccessible today. But he has done a very good job. The reviewer has checked no less than 86 items that pertain directly to California. The reviewer's own work upon the "French Activities in California" contains a bibliography of a number of French travelers and works in and concerning California which are not included in Mr. Monaghan's bibliography, but the latter's work deals with French travelers alone. The mere listing of over 80 volumes and brochures of French travels and travelers in California is a tribute to the unknown French activities and interests in the Pacific Coast area. The most serious omission is Laplace's "Plan de Circumnavigation." Additions to this admirable bibliography will appear from time to time.

This volume of some 114 pages contains many photostatic reproductions of title pages of rare volumes, and several indices which make it distinctly of valuable service to anyone interested in the history of the United States and of California. A rare service and contribution has been made by Mr. Monaghan to the literature and knowledge of American and Californian history.

A. P. NASATIR.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

[COSTANSO, MIGUEL; GALVEZ, JOSEPH DE, *et al.*]

Spanish occupation of California: Plan for the establishment of a government. Junta or council held at San Blas, May 16, 1768. Diario [of Miguel Costanso] of the expeditions made to California. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1934. xiii+64 pp., map, port. of Junipero Serra, and facsimiles of signatures. Introduction by Douglas S. Watson, trans. by Thomas Workman Temple II, Douglas S. Watson, and Frederick J. Teggart.

DELANO, ALONZO

Pen-knife sketches or chips of the Old Block. A series of original illustrated letters, written by one of California's pioneer miners, and dedicated to that class of her citizens by the author. Reprinted from the only edition (1853) with illustrations by Charles Nahl and a new foreword by G. Ezra Dane. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1934. xxii+80 pp., ills.

FISHER, LILLIAN ESTELLE

The background of the revolution for Mexican independence. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, copyright 1934. 512 pp. (incl. bibliography and index), frontis.

GLASSCOCK, C. B.

A golden highway. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, copyright, 1934. 333 pp. (incl. bibliography and index), ills.

HALL, CARROLL D. [ed.]

Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in 1849. Redwood City, privately printed, 1933. 37 pp. and 1 p. of passenger list. [The Boston and California Mining and Trading Joint Stock Company sailed in the *Edward Everett* from Boston on Jan. 12, 1849, and arrived in San Francisco on July 6. The journal ends on Oct. 1.]

HARLOW, ALVIN F.

Old waybills. The romance of the express companies. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934. xii+504 pp. (incl. bibliography and index), ills.

HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER

Where rolls the Oregon. Prophet and pessimist look northwest. Edited, with bibliographical resumé 1825-1830, by Archer Butler Hulbert. Published by The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and The Denver Public Library, copyright 1933. xv+244 pp. (incl. index), maps and ills. Overland to the Pacific, Vol. 3.

KIMBALL, CHARLES P.

The San Francisco fairy. A tale of early times. Published by C. P. Kimball, 1868. Introduction by Flora Belle Ludington. Whimsical reprints number 3. Mills College, Calif.: Eucalyptus Press, 1934. [A legend in ballad form.]

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—CHARLES L. CAMP.

KINYON, EDMUND G.

Observations and experiences. [A series of articles in the Sunday edition of *The Morning Union*, Grass Valley and Nevada City. The life of Alonzo Delano ("Old Block"), is included in the issues for May 6, 13, 20, and 27, 1934.]

MICHELSON, MIRIAM

The wonderlode of silver and gold [The Comstock lode]. Boston: The Stratford Company, copyright, 1934. 348 pp., ill.

NICHOLS, GRACE

Pioneer shrines in Yosemite. In *Yosemite Nature Notes*, March, April and May, 1934. [Includes John Muir, J. M. Hutchings, James C. Lamon, Galen Clark and Joseph Le Conte.]

O'DELL, SCOTT

Woman of Spain. A story of old California. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, copyright 1934. 299 pp. [A novel.]

O'MORAN, MRS. M.

Sketches of Western cities. In *The Wasp-News Letter*, San Francisco. Articles on Alameda, Auburn, Berkeley, Monterey, Pacific Grove, and Santa Rosa, have appeared at intervals since September, 1933.

TUCKER, PATRICK T.

Riding in the high country. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1933. 210 pp., ill. [Reminiscences of "the oldest cowboy in Montana."]

WAGNER, HENRY R.

Fr. Marcos de Niza. [Reprinted] from *The New Mexico Historical Review*, April, 1934. Pp. 184-227, and 1 page of errata and 1 of "addition," also photostat of declaration of Fr. Marcos de Niza, Sept. 2, 1539.

CALIFORNIA HISTORY NUGGET

Vol. 4, No. 1, contains: "Robert Semple, an early-day California promoter," and "The first 'tour of the Southwest'," by J. D. Francis.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Jan., 1934, contains: "Government exploration in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-59," by A. B. Bender; "Bourke on the Southwest," II, by Lansing B. Bloom; "Marking the Santa Fe Trail," by Frederic A. Culmer. April, 1934, contains: "Legend of Sierra Azul," by José Manuel Espinosa; "Bourke on the Southwest," III, by Lansing B. Bloom; and "Fray Marcos de Niza," by Henry R. Wagner.

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

March, 1934, contains: "Route of Meek Cut-off, 1845," by Lawrence A. McNary; "The Brig Whyhee in the Columbia, 1829-30," by F. W. Howay; "Hawaiians in early Oregon," by Robert Carlton Clark; "Authorship of Traits of Indian Life," by F. W. Howay; "Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43," ed. by Nellie B. Pipes.

THE OWL

Santa Clara University, April, 1934. Junipero Serra number.

PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. 3, No. 1, March, 1934, contains: "The interest of William McKendree Gwin in the purchase of Alaska," by Hallie M. McPherson; "Why the United States purchased Alaska," by Thomas A. Bailey; "The Cardona Company and the pearl fisheries of Lower California," by Sanford A. Mosk; "The Pacific Coast's first international boundary delineation, 1816-1819," by Philip Coolidge Brooks; Documents on the Alaska purchase, edited and translated by Hallie M. McPherson.

WESTWAYS (formerly TOURING TOPICS)

March, 1934, contains: "Sequoia, the Indian chief who gave his name to our greatest trees," by Raine Bennett; "Proverbs of Spanish California," compiled by Kay Turbeville.

April, 1934, contains: "Sundown on the Bret Harte country," by Raine Bennett; "When Indians brought the first mail into California," by Maurice S. Sullivan; "Whitney, monarch of the Sierras," by Herbert L. Sutton.

May, 1934, contains: "When 'Angels' were devils," by Lanier Bartlett; "Edwin Booth in El Dorado," by Farnsworth Crowder.

WISCONSIN MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

March, 1934, contains: "David Starr Jordan in Wisconsin," by Louise Phelps Kellogg; Documents—Diary of Thomas Woodward while crossing the plains to California in 1850 (to be continued).

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Bruer, Ernest A.	San Francisco	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Carroll, Miss Katharine R.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Davenport, Dixwell O.	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Dexter, Dudley	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Henshaw, Griffith	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Hopkins, L. Arundel	San Francisco	Miss Lottie G. Woods
Lamont, Donald Y.	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Nichols, Henry D.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Noyes, Frank G.	Napa, Calif.	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Orrick, W. H.	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Rawlings, Stuart R.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Stanford, Josiah W.	Piedmont, Calif.	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Stuart, Miss Gloria	Hollywood, Calif.	Mr. Albert M. Bender
Sunset Magazine, Editorial Dept.	San Francisco	Mr. Garfield D. Merner
Whiteside, C. E.	Oakland, Calif.	Mr. Fred M. DeWitt

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, March 20, 1934, at the Hotel St. Francis. Mr. Daniel Q. Troy spoke on "Recollections Inspired by a San Francisco Directory of 1884." He outlined the routes of travel of various groups of citizens of that day and first commented on certain well-known figures to be seen in the daily parades. This led to some description of the landmarks and firms which lined the routes of the day. Passing from external manifestations, Mr. Troy touched on the names of those, old and young, who led the community or subsequently came to positions of prominence or responsibility. The personal contacts of the speaker served to give the audience a picture of the San Francisco of fifty years ago that was vivid and realistic. There were twenty-seven members and guests present.

The Society met at the Hotel St. Francis at luncheon on Tuesday, April 17, 1934. Mr. Walter McGovern was the speaker; his subject, "Edward D. Baker—Soldier—Lawyer—Senator." Mr. McGovern followed the eventual and variegated career of this son of an English immigrant, from his arrival in this country as a child, to his death on the battlefield at Balls Bluff at the head of his troops. As he traced the events of his life, he used them to illustrate his genius and his achievements. His early acquaintance with Lincoln in Illinois and their lifelong friendship were described, as well as his career in Congress and in the Mexican War. But Colonel Baker's subsequent career in California was the much more fully described. Mr. McGovern treated this part of his subject sympathetically but fairly and gave the audience a living picture of California's great orator and lawyer whose eloquence swayed his contemporaries both before the bar and in his political efforts on behalf of the Union cause. There were thirty-three members and guests present.

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Hotel St. Francis on Tuesday, May 15, 1934, which was addressed by Mrs. Myrtle Shepherd Francis on "Dear Yesterdays in San Buena Ventura." Mrs. Francis told of the arrival of her family in the little community of San Buena Ventura in the '70's and described its external aspects and some of the people that were there in those days. A description of life during her childhood and the changing conditions in the community followed, disclosing such vicissitudes as attend the growth and change of a community. This led to the interesting account of how Mrs. Francis' mother, Mrs. Theodosia Shepherd, during a period of stress was led to become the pioneer seed grower of California. From mounting pressed wildflowers, sea-mosses and seed pods for souvenirs and similar means of

eking out necessities for her children, she made contacts which led first to gathering California seeds and then to growing them and others for merchants. There were thirty-nine members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1 to May 31, 1934

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. GEORGE A. BEANSTON—*San Francisco municipal reports, 1871-1914* (43 vols.).

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Barry, John D., *Reactions*, S. F., c. 1915; Harte, Bret, *Bell-ringer of Angel's*, London, 1894; Idem, *Condensed novels*, Boston, 1871, another, London, 1873; Idem, *Luck of Roaring Camp*, Boston, c. 1920; Idem, *Maruja*, London, 1887; Idem, *On the frontier*, London, 1884; Idem, *Story of a mine*, London, 1878; Idem, *Ward of the Golden Gate*, London, 1890; O'Dell, Scott, *Woman of Spain*, Boston, c. 1934; Powers, Mrs. Laura B., *Old Monterey*, S. F., 1934; *The Spanish occupation of California . . .*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1934.

From CHRISTOPHER PUBLISHING HOUSE—Fisher, Lillian Estelle, *The Background of the revolution for Mexican independence*, Boston, c. 1934.

From MR. W. B. DE LA MONTANYA—Shinn, Charles Howard, *Graphic description of Pacific Coast outlaws. Thrilling exploits of their arch-enemy Sheriff Harry N. Morse.*

From DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY—Hulbert, Archer B., *Where rolls the Oregon*, Denver: Stewart Commission, c. 1933.

From FIELDS BOOK SHOP—Hall, Carroll D. (ed.), *Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in 1849*, Redwood City, 1933.

From MR. JOHN HAMLIN—*Business directory of San Francisco and principal towns of California and Nevada*, S. F., 1877.

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PICTURES

From MRS. LESLIE L. ARMSTRONG—Photographs: Mark Hopkins house, Charles Crocker house, old Cliff House, Mission Dolores; booklet of scenes of the San Francisco fire and earthquake, April 18, 1906, two views of refugee camps after S. F. fire, etc.

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Photograph of Prof. Henry Morse Stephens (framed).

From MISS ADELE FALKENSTEIN—5 photographs of San Francisco, 1865-1880.

From MR. MAURICE FITZGERALD—6 photographs relating to the Modoc War and its participants.

From MR. FRANK W. HOOPER—A photograph of Shasta in the '50's and one of the home of Major P. B. Reading.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Photograph of Gelett Burgess.

From MR. CHARLES R. PHILLIPS—4 photographs of Downieville, photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Hyatt.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. LESLIE L. ARMSTRONG—Menu and program of banquet to President Taft, San Francisco, Oct. 13, 1911; S. F. *Chronicle*, April 21, 1906; printed poem by L. W. Harris, "Those damndest finest ruins."

From HAMMOND & BATES—Agent's book, Wells Fargo & Co.'s Express, La Grange, 1872.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—Self-portrait of Captain Agustin V. Zamorano (small folder printed for the Roxburgh Club, 1934).

From MR. E. D. HOLDEN—Manuscripts relating to railroading in northern California, etc.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Letters of Ambrose Bierce, Gelett Burgess, Wallace Irwin, and L. O. Reese.

From MR. CHARLES R. PHILLIPS—Buckskin bag used by miners for gold dust.

From LEO D. STANLEY, M. D.—A scarifier.

From MR. F. A. THOMAS—Mineral certificate for Main Top placer mining claim, Placer Co., 1889.

From MR. DOUGLAS S. WATSON—Photostat copies of a letter of José M. Flores, Los Angeles, July 20, 1845, and a letter of Joseph L. Moody, Sacramento, Aug. 7, 1849.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Photostat of a ticket to the Panama-Pacific Exposition, 1915, and various programs and announcements.

In Memoriam

MRS. RICHARD T. CARROLL

On the 14th of March, Mrs. Richard T. Carroll, a member of this Society, passed away at the home of her family, "Bayview," at Sunnyside. And with her going, death broke one of the few living links with the pre-golden era of Spanish California.

Mary Ann Murphy, granddaughter of Martin Murphy I, one of the Stevens-Murphy party of 1844, was born at the Martin Murphy homestead on the Cosumnes River, near Sacramento, on February 28, 1847. She was the daughter of Martin Murphy II, and was the last survivor of eight children: Elizabeth, James, Martin J., General P. W. Murphy, Bernard D. (seven times Mayor of San Jose), James T., and Ellen. Shortly after her birth, her father, Martin Murphy II, came to Santa Clara County and established his home at Sunnyside. He ordered from the East, in 1850, the first frame dwelling to be erected in the county, and in which her family still live. Her parents celebrated their golden wedding there, at which fifteen thousand guests were entertained.

She was educated by the Sisters of Notre Dame, and in 1865 became the first president of the Notre Dame alumnae. On May 9, 1870, she married Richard T. Carroll, a pioneer merchant of San Francisco, who died in 1890.

Mrs. Carroll was one of the six surviving grandchildren of the founder of the California Murphy family. They are, Miss Julia F. Weber, daughter of

Charles M. Weber, the founder of Stockton; Mrs. Therese Miller, daughter of James Miller, one of the founders of San Rafael; Mrs. Ada J. Howes, of San Jose; Mrs. Cloud Kinney, of Honolulu, and Lady Diana Rhodes, of England, whose first husband, Hiram Morgan Hill, founded the town of Morgan Hill.

She is survived by three children, John R. Carroll and Mrs. William R. Whittier, of Sunnyvale, and Mrs. Lytle Hull, of Los Gatos.

Born in the early era before the gold rush, and coming from a most prominent pioneer family, no one had a wider acquaintance and friendship with the early families of California than Mrs. Carroll. Her sweet disposition endeared her to all, and her long life was passed in acts of kindness. Her passing in the fullness of her years is deeply regretted by the wide circle who knew her and by whom her lovable, kind nature was always so deeply appreciated.

ERNEST A. WILTSEE.

MRS. EDWARD L. EYRE

Florence Atherton Eyre, daughter of Faxon Dean Atherton, a California pioneer of 1834, passed away at the family home in San Francisco on April 2, 1934. Beloved not only for a character and personality of rare beauty, Mrs. Eyre was always able and willing to assist in the many charities that form such a large part of our San Francisco life. Born in San Francisco in 1861 and related to many of our most prominent families, she grew to womanhood in her native city, graduated from Mills College, and became the bride of Edward Lilburn Eyre. Atherton in San Mateo County, named in honor of her father and part of Las Pulgas Rancho, was her home during the summer months, and here, where Faxon Dean Atherton established Valparaiso Park, surrounded by such estates as the Selbys', Doyles', Lathams', Feltons', Stanfords', Floods', Ralstons', and Holbrooks', she dispensed a hospitality in keeping with the traditions of a family that numbered among its guests Professor Agassiz, Bayard Taylor, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Secretary Seward, Richard Dana, Mr. Burlingame and others. Many members of the Society were present at St. Dominic's Church, San Francisco, during the funeral services. To her husband and sons, Edward E. Eyre and Dean Atherton Eyre, the Society extends its sympathy at the passing of one of San Francisco's best loved and most highly respected citizens.

A. T. LEONARD, JR.